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# RECORDS

OF THE

# Columbia Historical Society

WASHINGTON, D. C.

COMPILED BY

THE COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATION AND THE  
RECORDING SECRETARY

Volume 13



WASHINGTON  
PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY  
1910

SS 31

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1910

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THE NEW ERA PRINTING COMPANY  
LANCASTER, PA.

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2.4.76

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## A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JAMES MAC-CUBBIN LINGAN, ONE OF THE ORIGINAL PROPRIETORS.

BY MISS ELLA LORAIN DORSEY.

(Read before the Society, February 9, 1909.)

The first mention of the Lingan family in England appears in the Domesday book, where its founder is recorded as Turstin the Flandrian; and in Duncombe's "History of Herefordshire" there is a very full account of its vast possessions, its honorable estate and its liberality in founding nunneries, schools and alms-houses, while at the same time it upheld church and state with zeal and dignity.

It appears to have been an impulsive, generous and strong-willed race, scattering benefactions broadcast, obstinately faithful in its devotion to ideals, and absolutely reckless as to consequences where its loyalty was given.

Thus in the Wars of the Roses it persistently clung to the hapless Lancastrians; during the days of Henry the Eighth and Queen Elizabeth it cherished and persevered in its Catholicity through fine, imprisonment and exile; and when the Civil Wars broke out between king and parliament it sided unanimously with the king, following his fortunes until the head of the house had given all three of his sons to the Black Sergeant, had diminished his fortune by raising and equipping troops, and had paid a fine of £5,000, the heaviest ever levied on a Commoner.

In this country the name first appears in John

Smith's "History of Virginia," 6th book, p. 175, where he says:

"In the month of April, 1614, at the charge of Captain Marmaduke Roydon, Capt. George Langham, Mr. John Buley and W<sup>m</sup> Skelton with two ships from London I chanced to arrive at Monahegan."

And in 1664 we find it in Calvert County, Md., where —on the east side of the Patuxent River south of Land's Creek, seated at "Lingan's Adventure"—was George Lingan the American ancestor of James Maccubbin Lingan.

On the mother's side General Lingan's first American ancestor was John Maccubbin, of Scotland, Maccubbin being the phonetic rendering of the name Mac-Alpine, to which clan he belonged by right of descent from that Kenneth MacAlpine whose ancient race gave the Gaelic proverb: "The rocks, the devil, the Mac-Alpines." Their branch, being allied by marriage with the house of Breadalban, had refugeeed into the clan Campbell after the battle of Glen Frewen, and Argyle was regarded as the head of the family.

John Maccubbin appears on the Maryland "Calendar of Wills" as a testator of 1685, leaving his estate "Brampton" to his eldest son John (by his first wife) and "Wardrop" to his four sons by his second wife, Eleanor Carroll.

The will of the latter is witnessed by Chas. Carroll, Chas. Carroll, Jr., and Mrs. Mary Carroll; and, as she owned a portion of the old estate known as the "Woodyard" there may have been some family connection with the Darnalls and Talbots as well. She was also the sole heiress of Mary Van Schweringen.\*

\* See Baldwin's "Calendar of Wills," Vol. II, p. 104.

The Maccubbins had been heavily involved in the Civil Wars and the Wars of the Covenant, and even in my own time two of the treasures owned and held by Carroll of the Caves (descended from Nicholas Maccubbin and his wife Mary Clare Carroll) were the plaid-brooch and claymore of Montrose—that gallant figure whose joyful nature could not satisfy the Covenant's stern orders to slay, and whose romantic soul once fallen captive to King Charles never ceased from that allegiance until he too followed the Red Road of the Axe, and his proud head lay as low as that of his master.

There is a romantic story told about the Maccubbins by Patterson in his “History of Ayrshire,” apropos of Alexander Paden, the Minister of the Kirk, who was sometimes called the Prophet of the Covenant.

In the days when he was hunted like the red deer by moss-troopers seeking his capture, he was several times sheltered by Fergus Maccubbin of Knockdolian, who was heavily fined for his charity. Finally he told Paden he could not do it again, as a matter of justice to his heir whose inheritance was dwindling under the fines.

Looking past him with his strange, pale eyes Paden is said to have made the answer:

“The eldest son will never inherit,” and in fact Knockdolian’s heir was drowned before his father’s very eyes not long after; and while we cannot say the Covenanter meant root and branch of the race we know that the succession fails in the line of the eldest son to this day, and the Lingan name linked with it has survived only through the distaff side.

George Lingan and John Maccubbin through their grandchildren, Doctor Thos. Lingan and Ann Maccubbin, seem to have bequeathed all the marked char-

acteristics of their races to the man who is the subject of this sketch, for although it is only through the dry medium of wills, records and deeds we can follow his career, his favorite sister was long a member of the household of her niece, Mrs. Chloe Lingan McKenney, and left in the keeping of herself and daughter several interesting anecdotes of the patriot.

He was the second child of Doctor Lingan and was born on the thirty-first of May, 1751, presumably in Frederick Co., as it then extended from Oxen Run to the Falls of the Potomac; and his parents seem to have made his education and that of his brothers a matter of care and unusual thought. His father had an extensive collection of books, many of them in Latin, and these he left (according to the lady quoted above) to be given to the National Library when that plan of Washington's, already broached and discussed, should have become a reality.

Appleton describes Lingan very sketchily as "an American soldier employed in a store in Georgetown," and in another biographical memorandum he is described as "a poor young man coming to Georgetown to look for work."

Both facts would have been most creditable to his industry and his manhood, but as he came directly into the tobacco warehouse belonging to one of his relatives, and as his youngest brother was sent a few years later to the English Jesuits College of St. Omer at Liège, with all the surroundings appropriate to a youth of respectable fortune, it would seem as though there were some mistake.

It is apparent, however, from reading the will of Doctor Thomas Lingan, dated February 16, 1781, that some sharp reverse had taken place in the affairs of the family; for, after devoutly commanding his soul

to God, expressing his wish to be buried in Joppa churchyard and directing his debts to be paid he says:

"I give and bequeath to my sons Thomas, James and Nicholas all my right and title to my father's land lying in Calvert County known by the name of Bachelor's Quarter and Lingan's Adventure, now in possession of the Williams and others, and all the lands that I may have any claim to in Baltimore County and elsewhere to be equally divided among them, provided they are at an equal expense in the recovery of such lands; and should any of them refuse to join in the recovery of such land and paying their proportion of the expense it is my desire that they should not receive any part of the profits arising therefrom."

But on the other hand, he gives to his daughters \$15,000 which he had lent the State of Maryland, and mentions certain slaves, silver and other personal property.

Of this will he made Lingan executor, although his eldest son Thomas was a practicing lawyer in Montgomery County.

There is a whisper, credited to Mrs. Johns, another sister of Lingan's, that when the ground-swell of the Revolution began to roll their father was strongly inclined to the King's side, and that his wife sympathized with him. Be this as it may—and it would have been natural—the children were unanimous in their devotion to the cause of the colonies.

Thomas was appointed by the Committee of Safety a second lieutenant in the second Battalion of Baltimore and Harford Counties in the company of his uncle, Captain Zachariah Maccubbin.\* James appears† as the lieutenant of one of the (five) rifle com-

\* See "Maryland Archives," Vol. XVIII, p. 52.

† In Scharf's "History of Maryland," p. 766.

panies; Nicholas, the youngest, was prevented from running away to join his brothers only by the summary expatriation named above, and the sisters married patriots and soldiers.

The date of Lingan's first commission is not given in the record referred to, and the officers are not named by companies, but there is a sequence of sorts which may possibly bear on the order of enrollment and the relation between seniors and subalterns.

The captains appear as follows: Michael Cresap, Thomas Price, Philemon Griffith, Richard Davis, John Smith.

The lieutenants are: Thomas Warren, Otho Holland Williams, Thomas Hussey Luckett, Daniel Cresap, James M. Lingan.

This is evidently previous to the Resolve of the Continental Congress, June 27, 1776,\* which is:

"Resolved that six companies of riflemen in addition to the three Companies now in New York be raised and the whole regimented, and that a commission be granted to Col. Stevenson to be colonel of the said regiment of riflemen, which is to be enlisted for three years, unless sooner discharged by Congress, the men to be allowed a bounty of \$10<sup>00</sup>, and that Moses Rawlings be Lieut-Colonel and Otho Holland Williams Major of said regiment. That four companies of riflemen for said regiment be raised in Virginia and two in Maryland."

On the thirteenth of July, 1776, he was commissioned a second lieutenant in the above regiment, and he took part in the Long Island campaign under Captain Alexander Lawson Smith, of Harford County, and Captain Thomas Beale, of Frederick County, each of whom had as his three subalterns: First Lieutenant

\* " Maryland Archives," Vol. XVIII, p. 52.

Peter Contee Hanson, Second Lieutenant James M. Lingan, Third Lieutenant Richard Dorsey, and both of whom raised their companies under the resolution quoted.

The change in Lingan's rank from lieutenant to second lieutenant is due doubtless to that which takes place when independent companies are enrolled in one regular body.

How the golden rose of honor and even laurels of victory were wrenched from the fatal fields and melancholy routs of Long Island by Lingan and his comrades is a matter of history.

You all know the story—and the glory.

But to this comes a sombre sequel, for at Fort Washington on the sixteenth of November, 1776, less happy than the honorable dead, he was captured and with his breast pierced and torn by a bayonet he was sent a prisoner aboard the "Jersey"—the hell as she was called, a ghastly distinction in that Fleet of Doom.

The appalling narrative of Dring and the lately published account in connection with the erection of the Monument to the Martyrs of the Prison Ships give us an idea of what this meant.

While on the "Jersey" his heart must have been wrung with the anguish about him and his soul fired with rage at the indignities offered.

The corrupt and venal Robertson is said to have bought the supplies for the prisoners with clipped coin, and the rotten stores doled out to them produced all the diseases that such diet engenders. The brutality of the guards destroyed life and embittered death, and as they had no compassion for the living so they had no respect for the dead, and Lingan's sister left a story very characteristic of the man. One of his fellow prisoners died in the night, and when the guards made

their rounds at dawn to drag out the corpses for the burial-squad they found the box provided was a foot too short for this dead man. One of them suggested they should cut off his head so as to make it do, but Lingan stood astride the body and told them if they dared to touch it with a knife he would kill them with his bare hands.

He must have been rather terrible, because instead of striking him down and mutilating the corpse they went out and got a larger coffin.

It was while he was aboard the "Jersey" that his cousin, Admiral Sir Samuel Hood, came with the offer from "his Satanic Majesty's Government," as it was called in the grim travesty of the day. He offered a large sum of money—£10,000 is the sum stated in the traditional narrative, but it was doubtless dollars instead of pounds—and a high rank in the English Army if he would desert the cause of the colonies. This was accompanied by an earnest and perhaps sincere assurance of the inevitable failure of the struggle.

Lingan was cooped in a space so short he could not lie at full length, so low he could not stand erect, but his soul could still rise to its full stature, and his answer to it all was "I'll rot here first."

And he nearly did, for it was long months after his release before his cramped, agonized muscles allowed him to sleep otherwise than in an arm chair.

That such an offer was made to a simple lieutenant in the Continental Army may be due to two causes:

1. The pride and perhaps affection of the connections in England; Lord North was one of them, and his first cousin, Zachariah Hood (afterwards the King's Commissioner of Turk's Island), was *persona grata* at the Court of St. James, and the traditions of the old race were still strong.

2. The wide-reaching affiliations and influence of his family connection in Maryland would have made his defection a blow struck in high quarters. One of his sisters had married Col. Thomas Plater, of "Sotterley," the son of Governor George Plater, whose daughters had married Judge Barton Key and Gen. Uriah Forrest. His niece, Miss Plater, had married Major Peter, the brother-in-law of Miss Custis. His youngest brother, Nicholas, had married Anna Hanson, whose uncle, John Hanson, was third President of the Continental Congress. She was the daughter of Lt. Colonel Samuel Hanson (of Samuel), a signer of the Maryland Declaration of Independence, whose nephew, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, and grand-nephew, Thomas Stone, were respectively signers of the Federal Constitution and of the Declaration of Independence. Her brothers held commissions, her cousin, Robert Hanson Harrison, was the confidential military secretary of Washington; another cousin was Chancellor of Maryland; one aunt had married Arthur Lee, and her sister, Chloe, was the wife of General Geo. Lee. Another sister had married Doctor Wm. Baker, of Bladensburg, another General Chapman, and still another was the wife of Doctor Wm. Beanes, who in the later war was that prisoner of the Red Devil of the Chesapeake (as Cockburn was called), whose release through Francis Scott Key led to the great lyric "The Star Spangled Banner."

Lingan's Carroll kin included the Barrister, and that Daniel Carroll who with John Hanson made the unparalleled fight for the Western Domain, while his own marriage brought him into the Brice-Henderson connection.

It has not been determined whether Lingan suffered a three-and-a-half years' imprisonment or was twice

captured, for while made a prisoner at Fort Washington, November 16, 1776, as stated, he is gazetted first lieutenant, December 10, 1776, and a paper signed by J. Loring, Commissioner of Prisoners, and dated February 25, 1778,\* informs him that General Robertson has given him leave to come to New York, for which this will be his official pass (see Appendix B).

In the lower left-hand corner it is endorsed: "Mr. James Lingan prisoner on his parole," and on the back in the handwriting of his daughter, Mrs. Beverly Randolph, the "Jersey" is named as his prison.

He is gazetted captain in the August of 1778, but the Adjutant General of the U. S. Army states that (Appendix C):

"His name (also) appears on a list dated Amboy March 18, 1780, of American officers prisoners of war 'allowed to be unexceptionable.' "

His name also appears on an undated list of officers whose exchanges had taken place at a meeting of the British commissioners at New York.

The War Department memorandum of Lingan's release is confirmed in the eighteenth volume of "Maryland Archives," p. 616, where under the title:

*"Return of Maryland officers exchanged from the twenty-fourth of March, 1777,"* appears:

"Lt. James Lingan of Rawling's Regt., Oct. 25, 1780."

On page 316, same volume, in the reorganization of the army, Col. Carvel Hall, Captain Lingan and Lt. Tannehill are declared supernumerary January 1, 1781.

On page 513, under the "*Act to settle and adjust the accounts of troops*" and (p. 518),

\* Now in the possession of his granddaughter, Mrs. Elizabeth Randolph Calvert, of this city.

"*An account of all Certificates rec'd from John White Adjutant Comr by officers and men of the Md. Line*" it is stated that (p. 521) James M. Lingan served between August 1, 1780, and January 1, 1782, and January 1, 1782, and January 1, 1783; but with what command it is not stated.

It is further shown in Scharf's "History of Maryland," Vol. III, p. 778, that among the officers entitled to receive land on account of services is Captain James M. Lingan.

His dated service therefore extends from 1776 to 1783.

During his imprisonment his regiment, through the changes and shocks of war, suffered heavily and in its reorganization by assignments and transfers it seems to disappear; for under the head of

"The Fourth Regiment of Maryland" (Vol. XVIII "Md. Arch.") appears this statement:

"Muster Roll of Capt. Alexander Lawson Smith's Co. including part of the companies belonging to the regiment of Lt. Col. Moses Rawlings, being part of the 11<sup>th</sup> Virginia regt. commanded by Col. Daniel Morgan, Lt. Col. Febiger & Lt. Col. Nicholas during 1777 and afterwards being a part of the 4<sup>th</sup> Md. regt. commanded by Col. Josias Carvel Hall."

The terms of command given in the Rolls are: Col. Morgan June-July, 1777; Lt. Col. Febiger, September, 1777; Lt. Col. Nicholas, October, 1777; Col. Hall, January 18, 1778-January, 1779.

A brief note on page 77 (*ibid.*) states that:

Col. Moses Rawlings Rifle regt. was originally raised in Maryland and Virginia as Stephenson's Md. and Va. Rifle Regt. and was reorganized in 1777 as one of the sixteen additional regiments.

It is earnestly hoped your Society will rescue the history of the regiment as such; for in spite of the services which history declares saved the American army on the twelfth of August, 1776, in spite of its guarding retreats, leading charges and piling up its dead in defending positions, the only reference to this splendid legion that Heitman makes is found in two lines on a double-column page (Maryland section).

One reads: "Col. —— Rawlings"; the other, "Capt. Thos. Beale."

Lingan was an original member of the Order of the Cincinnati, "The History of Western Maryland" accrediting him in this connection to Montgomery County; and in the assignment of lands his portion lay west of Cumberland where his descendants hold sections of it to this day.

On the conclusion of the war Lingan returned to his home here and administered his affairs vigorously. It was his humor to name his estates after the battles in which he had been wounded, hence Harlem and Middlebrook; there was a third, but memory halts between White Plains and Jamaica. His inherited and acquired land included many acres, and his brother Nicholas seems to have held with him the tract on which much of the western half of the city of Washington now stands, for there are lots platted as far south as Braddock's rock (or the old observatory) and as far north as the Widow's Mite.

His house was in the center of what is now Nineteenth Street between M and N Streets and by an odd freak of chance the English Embassy touches his garden line. The account of this house printed by *The Star* says it was built of logs; but the only one of his houses I remember is a stately pile of brick and stone on the corner where Twentieth Street, I Street and

Pennsylvania Avenue run together. It faced west, and it is doubtless the one referred to in the *Federal Republican* of August 8, 1812; "he was well known to many of those who served in Congress from 1800 to 1804, who often partook of his hospitable board."

In 1790 when Washington had carried his point about the location of the national capital Lingan was his enthusiastic supporter and as he and David Burns were the owners whose property was most heavily involved in the western limit proposed General Washington was able to write his Secretary of State from Mt. Vernon, March 31, 1791:\*

" . . . The terms entered into by me on the part of the U. S. with the land holders of Georgetown and Carrollsburgh are that all the land from Rock Creek along the river to the Eastern Branch and so upwards to or above the ferry including a breadth of about a mile and a half the whole containing from 3,000 to 5,000 acres is ceded to the public, on condition that when the whole shall be surveyed and laid off as a city (which Major L'Enfant is now directed to do) the present proprietors shall retain every other lot; and for such part of the land as may be taken for public use, for squares, walks, etc., they shall be allowed at the rate of £25 per acre, the public having the right to reserve such part of the wood on the land as may be thought necessary to be preserved for ornament, the landholders to have the use and profit of the grounds until the city is laid off into lots and sale is made of these lots which by the agreement become public property. Nothing is to be allowed for the ground which may be occupied for streets and alleys."

Mr. Jefferson in his reply says:

"The acquisition of ground at Georgetown is really noble,

\* See "Washington Directory" of 1853, in part headed "Stranger's Guide," etc., p. 60, Gen. Washington to the Secretary of State, Mt. Vernon, March 31, 1791.

considering that only £ 25 per acre is paid . . . the streets not counted . . . reduce it to about £ 19 an acre . . . ”

The world was going well with Lingan ; he was spending his best energy and exerting his widespread influence in support of his adored chief Washington ; he was building up a great fortune for his children ; he was furthering every project that could develop the resources and advance the peaceful interests of his country. He held the position of Collector of the Port direct from Washington ; he saw the new states burgeoning and blossoming, and the oppressed of the world seeking refuge in the new republic, and felt it was good to have spent his youth and to have given his blood to its building ; he was surrounded by his old comrades ; his wife was beloved and his children growing bravely ; his eldest brother had made over his property interests to him ; the title and land in Scotland, which sought him in default of the Scotch heir he refused and let lapse, and then came the war-cloud of 1812 and in its sinister shadow lurked his death.

He was a Federalist, and true to his heritage he loved the party and its tenets with fervor and served it with persistent fidelity.

It was a day of uncontrolled speech and radical opinions, punctuated with duelling-pistols and enforced with swords. Steele and Addison and Sterne had taught the gentry the value of polished sarcasm, and the press in the full day of its first freedom indulged in startling excesses of invective and a criticism that loosened the bones in the sockets of its victims.

The party organ in Baltimore was the *Federal Republican*, and Alexander Contee Hanson was its editor. He was the son of the Chancellor of Maryland and his wife Priscilla Dorsey of Belmont, and was the near

relative of Nicholas Lingan's wife; he was possessed in full measure of the wit, sarcasm and daring of his family; his pen was tipped with fire, and his violent attacks on the administration with regard to the War roused the opposite side to white heat.

It was election year, and the sentiment in Baltimore was largely Democratic. War was declared on Friday the nineteenth of June, 1812, and the next day Hanson published an editorial that was like a match to a powder train.

On Sunday, the twenty-first, several public meetings were held as to the expediency of suppressing the paper. On Monday the Democratic papers answered in terms that drove the readers to a frenzy, and that night three or four hundred men and boys assembled with axes, hooks, ropes, etc., at the office of the *Federal Republican* on the corner of Gay and Second Streets and destroyed furniture, presses and the house itself.

The men are described as "lawless" and they were, but not irresponsible; for in the depositions before "*the Committee of Grievances and Courts of Justice on the subject of the late mob in Baltimore*" that of Mr. Alexander Briscoe states that he heard one of them declare there was a Committee appointed to obtain subscribers to pull down the office and that there were 100 and odd already subscribed.

The paper was then removed to Georgetown, where although threatened from both Baltimore and Washington it was published until July 26, when Mr. Hanson returned to Baltimore and took possession of a small house on South Charles St. He was accompanied by General Lingan, General Henry Lee ("Light Horse Harry"), Captain Richard Crabb, Dr. Philip Warfield, Chas. J. Kilgour, Otho Sprigg, Ephraim Gaither and

John Howard Payne, the author of "Home Sweet Home."

On Monday, the twenty-seventh of July, without any previous notice, the paper was issued from the new office though printed in Georgetown, and it contained an attack on the state authorities for the outrage of June 22 that cut like loaded whips.

If the editorial had been a match to a powder train, this was the spark to a mine and that night the mob gathered about the Charles Street house into which arms, ammunition and reinforcements had been received; for the declared object of Hanson's friends was "To participate in maintaining the rights of person and property, and defending the liberty of the Press."

The additional number included Major Musgrove, Henry C. and Wm. Gaither, Mr. Thompson, Mr. Winchester, Henry Nelson, Robert Kilgour and Mr. Daniel Murray.

The attack on the house began about 8 p. m. and was at first confined to stones and insults, but the mob soon proceeded to violence—and in spite of the extraordinary self control of the gentlemen, the firing of three blank volleys to show they really were armed, and the warning as to what would happen if an entrance was forced—such violence was done and Doctor Gales entered; he was shot and another man named Wm. Smith was wounded.

After this the mob boiled up from Fell's Point and elsewhere, and before many hours a cannon was trained on the house, and by the time the militia appeared the situation had become so acute that Barney and his troop could barely hold the assemblage in check until the arrival of the civil authorities at 7 a. m. and the surrender of the gentlemen to the latter.

The bluff courage of Barney, the extraordinary

humanity and gallant behavior of Gill, a tailor who commanded and prevented the firing of the cannon even while he undisguisedly wept for the death of his friend, and the courageous act of Montgomery pending the surrender are the only gleams of light in this sombre tragedy.

Through scenes almost fantastic in their fury the gentlemen\* were marched for safety to the gaol and committed.

Judge Scott and Judge Smith (the latter Lingan's brother-in-law) had early sought bail, and dozens offered it, but it was decided by the authorities that it could not be accepted because the gentlemen had been formally charged with murder. Both then went to the gaol, and at three o'clock had the people cleared out of the building and moved on from the yard, charging the gaoler most solemnly to guard the prisoners, which he and the constable Ross seem to have done to a certain point.

The militia was again ordered out and responded heartily, expecting to march to the gaol for its protection; but they were halted within the city limits, and at five o'clock dismissed to their homes.

As the shadows drew on, the dispersed mob came back in numbers, and by nine o'clock the alarm-bell rang and the news went like a thunder-bolt that the gaol was broken and the prisoners massacred.

John Dorsey had secured during the day some forty gentlemen, who intended to stand guard with their broadswords at the gaol, because they doubted the safety so strongly insisted upon by Gen. Stricker; but in the very act of making the rendezvous the wild clang

\* Besides those already named, there were Wm. Schroeder, Wm. B. Bend, Henry Kennedy, Horatio Bigelow, Mark U. Pringle, John E. Hall, Geo. Richards, Edward Gwinn, David Hoffmann and Jacob Schley.

of the bell shouted the shame that had fallen upon the nation—the murdering of unarmed prisoners, who had voluntarily surrendered to the law.

The horrors of that night must be imagined, for even in the cold type of legal evidence they are too terrible to repeat.

Of the seventy-six depositions I have examined (Appendix A), all agree on the main points with singular unanimity, but several striking facts are brought out viz.: (1) That the death of Doctor Gales, although incurred in the attack on the house, after the warning had been given that "any one trying to force an entrance would be shot," crystallized the savagery of the mob into a ferocious demand of "blood for blood," and led it under Wooleeschlager and Mumma to its fatal result. (2) That, while the mayor was negotiating with the mob as to how it would "permit" the gentlemen to leave the house and proceed to the gaol under the escort of the civil authorities, Mr. Hanson offered to give himself up to the fury of the mob in order to save his friends, as he was convinced none would survive if they surrendered. (3) The gaoler did not give up the keys as he has been charged with doing, and for which he has been loaded with the obloquy such an act would deserve; but the door was opened by a debtor named Mildews, whose personal freedom was the price of the betrayal. (4) The troops were really ordered out with blank cartridges, as charged. (5) The impassioned plea to the mob to spare the life of Lingan was made by Mr. Gwynn. He had pushed his way vigorously into the group of about fifty men gathered around the general, some of whom were knocking him down with their clubs, as fast as others jerked him up again so the fresh blows might reach him, while those on the outer ring bellowed encouragement to the murderous circle

urging them to kill, and dinging the insulting term of "Tory, tory" into the dying patriot's ears.

Mr. Gwynn's plea, persevered in at the risk of his life, is quoted as Lingan's own, in the funeral oration of George Washington Parke Custis; and is so referred to by Scharf. An eye witness of the murder, however, told Lingan's grand-niece (Mrs. Anna Hanson Dorsey) years after that the only words he spoke to the mob were when the cry of "Tory, traitor" first reached him. He then tore open his shirt where the gash of the Hessian bayonet still glowed purple and said: "Does this look as if I was a traitor."

A stone struck full on that sear and he fell. Another deposition shows he spoke once after his skull was fractured. Hearing threats of further violence he said to the friend who was near him: "I am a dying man: save yourself." Then he and the other injured were taken back into the room where first attacked, he drank some water, and in about a half hour appeared to be fainting. He was taken from his seat, laid down and instantly died.

This seems to prove that his body was not left lying in the dust of the road all the next day as has been stated; but three other depositions give accounts of those who viewed his body in the gaol, with brutal comment and satisfaction, Mumma and others acting as showmen.

If "obscure burial" was really "the condition of surrendering his body to a near relative" it was a short-lived satisfaction to the butchers, for on the first of September his obsequies were held with a pomp and dignity that fall to few (Appendix D).

No church here could hold the crowds who gave notice of their intention to be present. Five counties and three cities contributed representatives (and that

was the day of stage-coach and saddle, row-boat and foot travel). Washington's tent was spread over the stand erected in Parrotts Wood—the present Oak Hill cemetery—and Mrs. Washington's grandson, "the child of Mt. Vernon," was the orator of the day. His wounded friend Musgrove was in the funeral procession, but Lee was too near his own death to raise his mutilated head, for "the mob had tried so furiously to strangle him and had cut and beaten him so severely" that he never recovered.

The general's horse was led behind the hearse, the eldest son who died soon after walked as chief mourner, but the widow could not attend; for, as she sat waiting the carriage a man armed with a pike walked under the window thrusting it up before her with brutal words. It may have been dampness that had rusted the steel, or really the blood of the dead patriot, but it threw her into an excess of grief that renewed all her sufferings.

As the funeral train moved on cannon told the story to the hills, and half-masted flags proclaimed to the winds that a brave soldier and a good citizen was being honored and laid in the last of the three narrow beds that had been appointed for him—the cot of the soldier, the cell of the "Jersey," and the coffin into which his murderers sent him when the temple of his brain was shattered by an alien hand and his long years of service to his country were ended in blood and anguish.

A ruinous administration of his affairs followed his death, and the winding up of his wide interests reflects grave discredit on the judgment of those who conducted it. Instead of a princely fortune his daughters had land and a few thousand apiece. Mrs. Ann Bartlett's portion lay towards the east end of the city which Mr. Law was trying to make the fashionable quarter; Mrs.

Beverly Randolph had the west end, and her descendants still hold a portion of it.

To sum Lingan up in a single sentence I should say:

None loved his country better.

Few served it so well.

#### APPENDIX A.\*

##### REPORT OF COMMITTEE. ORDER OF HOUSE OF DELEGATES OF NOVEMBER 18, 1812.

"Ordered: that the Committee of Grievances and Courts of Justice be and they are hereby instructed to inquire into the late Riots and Mobs in the City of Baltimore, and the causes thereof, with a view to ascertain whether there has been any culpable inertness or neglect of duty on the part of any of the Civil or Military officers of the state, or whether the defect is in the Law, in order that the proper remedy in either case may be applied."

"Interrogatories submitted to the witnesses summoned by the Committee of Grievances and Courts of Justice, on the subject of the late Riots in Baltimore:

"1. Do you know of the destruction of a house in Gay street in the City of Baltimore on the 20<sup>th</sup> of June last (1812) in which the paper of the *Federal Republican* was published?

"2. Were you there? Did you see either or any of the Magistrates, Constables or Judges present? If you did who were they? And were any exertions made either to prevent the destruction of the property or to arrest the rioters? If there were any endeavors by whom were they made? And if they were unsuccessful, was the interposition of the military demanded? If it was, was it denied or ordered out? And if ordered out, by whom was it ordered? And were the orders obeyed? And by what officers?

\* In the depositions the author of this sketch has abstracted only matter bearing directly on the destruction of the houses and the murder of General Lingan.

“3. How many appeared to be engaged in this commotion? And how long did they remain together in the destruction of the house and property?

“4. Can you say of what description of persons, whether natives or foreigners, were principally the rioters?

“5. Have you any knowledge that the attack was the result of a preconcerted plan, and when was it laid, and by whom?

“6. Do you know whether any and what information was given to any of the Civil authorities of a contemplated destruction of the building? If you do, when was it given, to whom, and what was the answer of the officer?

“7. What was the probable value of the property destroyed?

“8. Were either Alexander C. Hanson or Jacob Wagner, the editors of that paper, injured or pursued with intent to injure them? If they were, by whom were they pursued?

“9. Have you any knowledge of vessels regularly cleared out by the constituted authorities being dismantled, by whom, and when and how?

“10. Do you know that the interposition of either the Mayor, the state officers, or the officers of the U. S. were required? If they were by whom? Of whom? And was any aid yielded or denied? And for what reasons?

“11. Do you know of the destruction of any other private property, except as connected with the establishment of the *Federal Republican* office by any popular commotion? If you do, state by whom, and when and to what extent, and the assigned causes for the outrage?

“12. Do you know of any attempt or design to destroy any place of public worship in the city of Baltimore? If you do, state the persons who were engaged in, and everything connected with the same—and how was it prevented?

“13. Do you know of any combination to persecute and drive from his residence any citizen of Baltimore? If you do, mention by whom the same was formed, and everything with it.

“14. Have you any knowledge that any of the civil authorities or the Attorney General of Maryland were present at any

popular commotion alluded to in the preceding interrogatories or had any knowledge of the same?

"15. Were you present at an attack made on the 27th of July (1812) last on a house in Charles street, in the city of Baltimore from which the *Federal Republican* was issued? If you were state everything connected with the attack, defence, or agency of the civil or military authorities of the city of Baltimore, so far as you have a knowledge of the same?

"16. Had you any reason to suppose that any such attack was designed? If you had state the facts inducing such a supposition; and if you or any other person to your knowledge, called either upon the Mayor or the civil or military authorities to adopt measures either of precaution or protection.—If you did to whom did you apply, and what measures were taken? If denied what reasons were assigned for refusal?

"17. Was any call made by the civil authority upon the militia? If so by who, upon whom, and by whom were the orders issued, and to whom? What were the orders? And were verbal or written orders given, or both, and what were they?

"18. Were the orders issued by the military obeyed? If not by whom were they disregarded? And what were the reasons assigned for refusing to obey them? And has the Brigadier General ordered any investigation into the conduct of the refractory officers for a disobedience of orders?

"19. Have you any knowledge that the attack on the house in Charles Street was the result of a digested plan? If so by whom was the same arranged, and when and where?

"20. Have you any knowledge that the plan embraced the proscription or injury of other citizens not connected with the establishment of the *Federal Republican* office?

"21. Were you present at the gaol of Baltimore on the 28th day of July (1812) last? If so state any occurrence which came within your knowledge relating to the breaking in the same, and the attack upon the persons detained therein, and the murder of General James Lingan?

"22. Do you know if any of the militia was ordered out on

that day for the protection of the gaol? If so, who were ordered out, and by whom were they ordered? Did they obey? If so did they repair to the gaol? When were they dismissed? And by whom? And for what reason? If they disobeyed, what reasons were assigned for the disobedience?

"23. Do you know of the assemblage of a mob before the post-office in Baltimore with a view to destroy it? If you do, relate all your knowledge of that event. State particularly your knowledge of the interposition of civil or military officers and how the mob on this occasion were induced or compelled to desist.

"24. If you know any other matter or thing relating to the said mobs or riots in the city of Baltimore, or relative to the misconduct of any officer, civil or military, or other persons in the said city relate the same particularly and circumstantially, as if particularly interrogated thereto.

"25. Did you hear, or have you heard, of any person being summoned by any civil officer to aid and assist in the preservation of the peace of the city? If you did by whom? Who were they that were summoned? Did they obey the summons? If they refused, what reasons were assigned for their refusal?

"26. Do you know if any application was made to the chief justice of the Court of Oyer and Terminer and general gaol delivery to bail any of the persons confined in the gaol on the 28th of July? If so by whom was the application made? Was it granted? If not, for what reasons was the same denied?

"27. Do you know if either John Montgomery, Gen. Stricker or Edward Johnson, were consulted upon the application for bail? If so what course of conduct did they, or either of them, advise? And what reasons did they assign for the same?

"28. Do you know or have you heard any reasons assigned by General Stricker for ordering out Col. Sterrett's regiment in preference to any other?"

"**ORDERED:** That the Witnesses be requested to reduce to

writing every explanation which they deem desirable, as no verbal explanation is required."

DEPOSITIONS.

1. Deposition of John Howard Payne.
2. Deposition of William Gwynn.

"Not more than about 30 were constantly employed in destroying the property . . . a French doctor named Lewis approved and encouraged their proceedings. There appeared to be both foreigners and natives engaged and many of them from their dress appeared to be of the middle class of society. Judge Scott . . . called several persons to assist him in preserving the peace. I also saw the Mayor of the city."

(June 22, 1812.)

"Hutchens house was searched.

"Charles Smith was sought, so as to tar and feather him.

"A house on Federal Hill was destroyed.

"Prior was attacked.

"Introduced to General Lingan about 4 o'clock on the afternoon of Monday, June 27, at the house on Charles Street, where he had gone to see Mr. Hanson. . . . Mr. R. Magruder requested me to examine an order which he had prepared to be signed by two Justices requiring Gen. Stricker to order out a sufficient military force to preserve the peace. . . . Mr. Dougherty, a Justice of the Peace, was present and signed it. . . . Judge Scott coming in apptd Major Barney and those under his command a 'posse comitatus' to do whatever may be necessary to suppress the riot that now prevails."

Mr. Gwynn, Mr. Hoffman and Mr. Payne went to search for a second Justice to sign the requisition. They went first to John Aisquith, Esq., who was not at home; to Thos. W. Griffith, Esq., who refused; to John F. Harris, Esq., who had just gone to Gen. Stricker's and on their return they found he had signed the order. About 6 o'clock

"the street was crowded with a tumultuous and infuriated assemblage who threatened with vengeance the party in the house; some urged the firing of the cannon at them; a match was brought for that purpose, and preparations made several times to fire it—at one time a lane or opening was made between it and the house—which was loudly urged by some of the mob, when John Montgomery, Esq., walking in the open space between the cannon and the house intreated that they would not fire it declaring if they did they must fire at him; they were prevailed on to desist. A tailor named Gill appeared to have control of the cannon and the mob. Thos. Wilson editor of the '*Sun*' with a pistol in each hand and a sword in the scabbard under his arm was very active and vociferous, urging the mob to fire the cannon and declaring they must have blood for blood. About this time the Mayor and Gen. Stricker appeared; and the mob being assured that the persons in the house should be taken into the custody of the civil authority, delivered up the cannon which was taken away.

"Gen. Stricker called aloud for every member of the 3d Brigade within the reach of his voice to arm and come to aid him in supporting the civil authority; very few obeyed, a small guard of horse and foot, about 50 in number with difficulty arranged themselves in front of the house. They marched . . . to the county gaol."

Mr. Gwynn returned to the Charles St. house and for two hours tried to prevail on the mob to desist

"destroying and stealing the moveables and injuring the house. . . . Being informed on my return to my office that it had been determined not to bail the persons who had been thus conducted to Gaol I called on Mr. Merryman the Sheriff and urged him to use every possible precaution in securing the doors of the Gaol. I suggested to him the necessity of taking the keys into his own possession, lest fear or other motive should induce the Gaoler to give them up if the Gaol was attacked, and the Sheriff in that event would be severely

censured—he said he had full confidence in his Gaoler and was satisfied he would act correctly. . . . I felt satisfied that the persons must be safe . . . it was not till after sunset I knew that the military which had assembled were dismissed and a few minutes after I was informed that the Gaol doors were broke open by the mob.

"I hastened out to the place and arrived in front of the prison just as an old man was brought out and surrounded by about 50 of the mob armed with clubs; from his appearance I believed him to be General Lingan. As I approached I heard him address the mob in a tone of earnest supplication; I pressed forward into the crowd who surrounded him, and who were beating him with their clubs with the most savage and unfeeling cruelty. I entreated them not to kill an old man, the father of a number of helpless children; one who had fought in defence of the freedom of his country. Those who were not near enough to reach him with their clubs, called out fiercely to have no mercy on him, to beat him to death; one of the assailants who was near me said: 'He is one of those d——d rascals who came from a distance to murder our citizens; no matter what he was formerly, he is a d——d tory now, he ought to be put to death.' I perceived that any further exertions would not only be unavailing but would subject me to imminent danger, and the scene being too distressing, too horrible to witness without the power to resist the murderers I returned to the city."\*

3. Deposition of Richd. H. Owen.
4. Deposition of Joel Vickers.
5. Deposition of Thos. C. Jenkins.
6. Deposition of Lemuel Taylor.

(p. 43) "say about 10 o'clock I heard an old voice calling himself a son of Washington, daring them to fire at him, and encouraging the boys to stone the house—this person proved to be Doctor Gales" (July 27).

\* Wright, one of L.'s murderers, was acquitted.

"At the jail . . . I heard a man speaking to Mr. Johnson, whom I since understood was Wooleslager telling Mr. Johnson that he could do nothing more, that they were only endangering themselves, that they would as soon hit him as any body else. At the moment of breaking the jail . . .

7. Deposition of John T. H. Worthington.

8. Deposition of David R. Geddes.

As to the house No. 49 Charles St., and in excuse of

"the militia who refused to face a mob unprepared (without ball cartridge) as we were ordered to be."

"I attempted to get in the gaol the second time to get Capt. Boyd out. I was met at the door by a man whom I afterwards understood to be Mumma. I was insulted by him, and my entering the gaol was objected to by him; at the same time the Mayor of the city walked up the steps—his business there was to release from the gaol Mr. Charles McCubbin who had been thrown in by mistake . . . I was at the gaol on Wednesday morning the 29<sup>th</sup> (July, 1812). I there saw Mumma. *I believe* it to have been him, holding in his hand the sheet that covered General Lingan, who was lying dead on the floor—he said to me 'Look at the d——d old tory General.' "

(The night before) Mr. Smith said if 5 or 6 persons would go with him to the gaol he would address the mob and thought he could disperse them; but he was prevented by his wife.

9. Deposition of Richd. K. Heath.

"An application was made to Judges Scott and Smith to bail the gentlemen in the gaol by their friends; they consented at once, but Judge Scott said afterwards they would not be because they were charged with murder. . . . I frequently mentioned to people who appeared favourable to the mob that

the Mayor would use his authority to put the mob down, and was answered that the Mayor was a friend of the people and would do nothing against them."

10. Deposition of Robert Purviance.
11. Deposition of Wm. Stewart.
12. Deposition of Peter L. White.
13. Deposition of Richd. R. Magruder.
14. Deposition of Isaac Dickson.

" . . . Gen. Stansbury stated that he was at the gaol with a Col. Schutt and that while sitting on their horses some person (to the best of this deponent's recollection was Mumma and who was out in the yard) came and held his horse from which circumstance he General Stansbury inferred that Mumma was innocent.\* He then observed that he went into the gaol; when he got in there he saw some persons having hold of an old man but could not tell whether it was Lingan or Lee; and that the person was in the act of raising him with one hand and striking him with the other—he then stepped up to the man and either took him by, or touched him on, the arm and bid him quit beating him for that he had beat him enough. He observed then that the man desisted and to the best of this deponent's recollection he said that he placed himself between the man who had been beat and the man who had been beating him; . . . also said after the prisoners had been beat they were thrown together like a parcel of hogs, and from his countenance and manner he seemed to be struck with horror at the circumstance."

14. Deposition of Robert C. Long.
15. Deposition of Wm. Jessop.

"in the gaol . . . two men . . . , one of them on my making some inquiries, with a candle in his hand conducted me to a back room where lay a man dead. I took the candle

\* Mumma admitted the murder to Daniel Webster (see Harvey's "Reminiscences of Daniel Webster").—E. L. D.

from his hands and examined the wounds on his head which were several desperate cuts. I asked who this man was; he did not know. I then supposed it was Gen. Lee. I drew down his clothes, raised his head, and laid him in the most decent manner the place would admit of . . . he seemed anxious I should take the corpse away. . . . ”

16. Deposition of Daniel Murray.
17. Deposition of Elias Glenn.
18. Deposition of John Stone.
19. Deposition of Wm. R. Smith.
20. Deposition of Thos. Buchanan.

“ . . . between 3 and 4 o'clock of that day (July 28) I went out to the gaol with Judge Scott and Judge Smith . . . 50 or 60 persons were in the gaol and about 150 in the yard and about the house. I spoke to the gaoler to have every person turned out and the doors locked, which was done. At the gaol door Judge Scott entered into conversation with some of the people who were there, among others Doctor Lewis and Doctor Smull as the deponent then understood . . . that deponent had a decided impression that the mob intended to murder Mr. Hanson and his friends . . . ”

21. Deposition of Win. Merryman.

“(July 28 after saving property from Charles St house deposited at Mr. Raborg's) . . . an immediate attack on the gaol was threatened. I called Mr. John H. Bentley the gaoler and directed him to turn every person out of the gaol who had no business there; to lock the outside doors, and to keep them locked. I summoned Mr. Thos. Ross, a constable to assist Mr. Bentley. He promised he would and I believe he did. . . . Mr James Calhoun, Jr., . . . said the militia had been ordered out and that he would see the big guns properly secured so the mob could not get at them and use them. . . . The Mayor . . . assured me there was no danger of an attack on the gaol. . . . Gen. Stricker was not in the smallest

degree apprehensive of danger. A report was circulated that the gaoler intended giving up the keys. I went immediately to him, told him of the report and cautioned him again about the doors. He said the report was groundless and that I might make myself perfectly easy so far as it concerned his duty."

"General Stansbury appeared. . . . I told him I hoped he would assist me in supporting the laws that night. He replied that he would have nothing to do with it. (After the attack that opened the door), Mr Taylor, Col. Biays and the Sheriff went to the hall and called to the people and commanded them to desist; but they with their sleeves rolled up, appeared like so many infuriated spirits breaking down the wooden gratings; . . . and then commenced on the iron grating, and a clamour for the keys. Mr. Bentley asked if he should give up the keys. I charged him not to do so, and neither did he for they broke away the brick wall which received the lock. I then took my horse and rode to Judge Scott's, . . . returned to the gaol where we witnessed a scene shocking to humanity; we returned without being able to render any assistance to the afflicted and under the impression that they were all dead.

"I asked for a release. . . . Dr James Smith\* rec'd the release for all. Dr. Smith with several others went with me to the gaol, and a consultation was had as to the expediency of removing them immediately. Wooleslager and Mumma and several other persons were there; stages were sent for. Wooleslager went away but Mumma assisted us to lift the wounded on blankets to the stages. (A debtor named Mildews opened the door.)"

22. Deposition of Dennis F. Magruder.

23. Deposition of John Scott.

" . . . I have before stated (as to June 22, 1812) that I heard the Mayor was in Gay Street and that Owen Dorsey, esquire, a justice of the peace went from my house to the

\* The attending physician at the prison.—E. L. D.

African church. . . . (as to July 28, 1812) James P. Heath demanded a peace-warrant against John Mumma which was issued; three different constables were ordered by me to serve the warrant; it has never been returned to me; the constables are Alexr. Thompson, John Maidwell and Francis Murray. . . . The Sheriff rode to my door to inform me the gaol was attacked. I ordered him to summon the posse comitatus and directed the (alarm) bell to be rung."

24. Deposition of Joseph Sterrett.

" . . . I received both written and verbal orders from Gen. Stricker on July 28 last; the written were published in his defence, the verbal orders were that *I was not to use ball cartridges.*"

25. Deposition of Col. John H. Schultz.

" . . . as they were breaking down the gaol Gen Stansbury said: 'Men for shame, don't break the gaol.' . . . John Mumma stood alongside the Generals who said to him 'Is not this a shame to break open the gaol?' who said: 'Yes, it is a shame.'

"The object of the visit of Schultz and Stansbury to Capt. Jones was to prevail on him to take command of a company which had been improperly, as the deponent thinks, given to John Mumma by Major Garts and which had before been commanded by Jones."

26. Deposition of Wm. Eichelberger.

27. Deposition of Abraham Hatton.

28. Deposition of Thos. Kell.

" . . . Of the murder of General Lingan I know nothing. The first time I saw him was after he was beaten; he then spoke in consequence I believe of hearing threats of further abuse used by persons standing near him, and drank water after he and the others injured were taken back to the room in which they had previously been. About half an hour

after he appeared to be fainting, was taken from his seat, laid down, and he instantly died.

" . . . I did not believe the gaoler was a man likely to betray his trust.

" . . . the persons engaged in the acts of violence at the gaol were from their dialect generally Irish or German; most if not all were the former whom I saw engaged in beating the injured persons."

29. Deposition of John Wooden.

" . . . Gen. Stansbury said: 'Mumma was innocent of the charge . . . for when I went up to the gaol they were I think just about the act of breaking in and Mumma held my horse till I went into the gaol; there they had got this old man, either Lee or Lingan, down, and some were pulling him up while others struck him on the head. . . . '

30. Deposition of James Biays, Jr.

" . . . In the evening about sun-down I was in an open lot back of the gaol. . . . in about five or six minutes a crowd of men approached the back door of the gaol echoing loud huzzas; after which the door was struck several times with something heavy, presently the back door was opened, the crowd rushed in . . . some person or persons with hammers re-attacked the outer door of the prisoners room, which they soon forced, using a sledge hammer for the purpose, and then they attacked the inner door which they also forced . . . in the scuffle the lamp was put out, . . . but candles were brought. The sight that then presented itself shocked my feelings to an extreme degree. Some men were dragged out of the prisoners room and beat violently on the head with clubs; some fell near the outer door of the room, some rushed to the door of the prison and there were knocked down; others got outside the gaol before they fell . . . "

31. Deposition of James Hutton.

32. Deposition of Nixon Wilson.

(As to June riot) "I know of the destruction of two small houses and a back building on Federal Hill by the mob; one of the most active persons in doing the mischief was a carpenter, Daniel Wilson. Value of property \$800<sup>00</sup>, one of the owners a negro.

"Mr. Abell a magistrate tried to disperse the mob.

"As to the African church threatened. I saw the crowd, but it being reported that a number of persons were inside and determined to defend it with arms the mob disappeared.

"I was informed on the 27<sup>th</sup> of July by one Kelly a constable that an attack would be made that evening; at 10 o'clock he heard several guns fired; at Charles St. he met a man named Garrett who was calling to the mob to go on that they were all d---d cowards. He went further and met W<sup>m</sup> Lock who informed him that they never fired from the house without calling out three times. . . . After standing there some time (at Thos. C. Jenkins house next Alexander C. Hanson's office) a person made use of violent loud and abusive language towards the people in the house and finally he entered the house which had been previously broken open, followed by one or two persons. He heard the call 'to close the door,' after which a gun was fired, and the person called Doctor bounded out and fell outside of the curb-stone when it was proclaimed that he was killed, and the mob carried him across the street above Uhler's alley; he was Doctor Gale. The door was still open and a person standing in it about the middle of the passage. The cry of 'clear the door' was still continued and another gun was fired which wounded a man named Smith who was carried off. About this time (bet. 1 and 2 a. m.) Saml. Hoffman came out of the house, and was crossing the street, when he was knocked down, one of the persons concerned was named Grey, to whom deponent called by name 'not to kill him' when the party dispersed. . . . he was knocked . . . and hurried off . . . the mob attacked Andrew Boyd who had been in the house. A man named Whitelock a plaisterer was one of the party. The mob . . . called for a cannon. I heard a man named Jones (a carter) call out 'follow me I will show you where to get a cannon—we

will find one at Swarthouts.' But they could not get it, and got one belonging to Captain Buffum's, late Harris's, company. . . . before its arrival . . . one of the mob fired into the house and I heard some one fall and the mob shouted for joy. After the cannon was towards the house John Gill a tailor mounted on it. The deponent requested him not to let them fire it which he promised should not be done if he could prevent it. Gill proclaimed himself Captain of the gun and said no man should fire. A man named Long put his finger over the touch-hole and said no person should prime or fire it unless he was stronger than he. A certain Thos. Wilson the editor of the 'Sun' came up three different times and ordered it to be fired, but Long would not let it be done. Major Barney and some of the troop of horse were in the street at this time. Wilson . . . was a violent furious member of the mob. I saw during the night both Mr Abell and Mr Aisquith trying to disperse the mob. On the morning of the 28th . . . I heard some of them . . . say they would protect the prisoners at the risk of their life. I think it was Col. Small. After giving his testimony to the grand jury the deponent was threatened by Kelly the constable."

33. Deposition of Charles Burrall.

34. Deposition of Edward Johnson, Mayor of the City.

" . . . Many reports were made to me of threats and imprudent observations of the black population . . . and it was satisfactorily ascertained that frequent assemblages took place where their ability to do mischief was enforced by a negro the property of a Mr. Mycroft who had frequently been in the island of St. Domingo, who was apprehended and committed to gaol, in consequence whereof it became a subject of general conversation, and an unjustifiable persecution commenced. Measures taken to protect them were successful. A troop of horse under Col. Biays paraded streets and avenues. . . .

"Gen. Lee said . . . he had been instrumental in restraining the young men who would have fired much oftener had he not prevented them.

"I kept Wooleslager with me until the actual moment of breaking the gaol. . . . "

34. Deposition of John Hargrove.

"Went to the gaol about 5 o'clock on the 28<sup>th</sup> of July with the Rev. Mr. Beaslay. He went with another magistrate James Wilson, Esq., approached the back door of the gaol and knocked for entrance. That at length after some time they were heard and admitted and both went into the room or dungeon where the gentlemen were confined. . . . That after remaining . . . an hour . . . went home under a pleasing hope . . . that no violent or unlawful measures would be resorted to. . . . "

35. Deposition of Dennis Nowland.
36. Deposition of Chas. Robinson.
37. Deposition of John Gieger.
38. Deposition of Henry C. Gaither.
39. Deposition of Henry D. Scott.

"John Montgomery in conversation said after the acquittal of Kenelom White, Thos. Burke and ——— Ferguson the two former for the murder of Gen. Lingan and Ferguson for killing a man in a fight. . . . "

40. Deposition of James Sterett.

"If orders (to drive off the mob who demolished the house on Gay St., June 20) had been issued I should have received them, being commander of the Troop of First Baltimore Hussars. . . . "

41. Deposition of Saml. Sterett.

"I asked the Colonel for a supply of ball-cartridge when he informed that the order of the General was to serve none out, or words to that effect."

42. Deposition of Isaac Aldridge.

43. Deposition of John Brown.
44. Deposition of Geo. H. Stewart.
45. Deposition of John Diffenderfer.
46. Deposition of Andrew Boyd.

"The gentlemen who came out of the house went into the hollow square and marched to the gaol, the Mayor and other citizens walking with them."

47. Deposition of Alexr. Briscoe.

"I heard Geo. Wooleslager say some time before (say 8 or 10 days) the office in Gay street was pulled down that there was a Committee appointed who were trying to obtain subscribers to pull down the office, and that there were one hundred and odd already subscribed. . . . Doctor Smull told the Judge (Scott) that nothing would satisfy them but blood for blood. . . . Judge Scott made use of no exertion to arrest Doctor Smull."

48. Deposition of Elijah Warfield.

"On the 28<sup>th</sup> of July about 1 p. m. rec'd order from Col. Jos. Sterrett to parade my company . . . at 3 p. m. to protect the gaol. . . . waited until 5 o'clock . . . but few of the regiment appeared . . . at 5.30 we were ordered to march toward the gaol, met General Stricker . . . returned to rendezvous. . . . Gen. Stricker returned from gaol about 7 o'clock . . . and we were then dismissed."

49. Deposition of Geo. Howard.
50. Deposition of Jas. Gittings, Jr.
51. Deposition of Jas. A. Buchanan.
52. Deposition of John Worthington.

" . . . I fell in with Mr. John E. Dorsey who informed me that about 40 gentlemen had agreed to mount their horses with broadswords and proceed to the gaol to endeavor to save the lives of our friends and invited me to join them. . . .

Shortly after parting with Mr. Dorsey for the purpose of getting my horse, the alarm bell rang, every one exclaiming that the gaol had been forced, and the gentlemen all murdered! I proceeded to the appointed place of meeting, only four persons met—it was too late to be of any service. I went to the gaol between 12 and 1 o'clock at night, entered and mixed with the mob—they gave me the most shocking and horrid account of the murder of the d——d tories. They dwelt particularly on their murder of the old gentleman as they called him, meaning General Lingan. . . . ”

### 53. Deposition of Nicholas Brice.

“ . . . Gen. Lingan said they meant no injury to others and intended to act solely on the defensive if attacked. . . . Judging from the readiness with which the militia marched I concluded they were willing to defend the gaol. I heard one or two murmur a little (as I did) at having no ball cartridges served out, but each of those told me they had powder and ball enough. I had at least 20 ball and enough powder which I had put in my pocket early in the day to be in readiness. . . . ”

### 54. Deposition of Wm. B. Barney.

“ . . . Before the house in Charles St. . . . the people were Dutch, Irish and American and one English sailor, all importuning at the same minute; then cursing the tories, the murderers. . . . I found very much less difficulty with the Irish and Americans than with the Dutch. . . . a stout good looking man . . . pledged himself to do all in his power . . . he said to those in charge of the gun ‘lads this gun belongs to the artillery company I belong to, I am used to it and can handle it better than you can, give me charge of it, and when the Major here breaks his word, by G—— I’ll give it to the Tories.’ . . . blood for blood was the word and clear away the gun was the cry. . . . I was again constrained to throw myself before it, and told them to fire and they should blow me to h—— with it . . . Gill the man who had taken charge

of the gun, assured me that he had done all he could, in fact I found him laying on the gun his breast over the vent and his arms closely clasped round it; he said he would stick to it, but he was afraid they would fire if the Mayor did not soon come down. . . . I dismounted Lt. Myers and five chasseurs and marched with drawn swords preceded by Messrs Fulton and Gordon magistrates into the house . . . four more at the back.

" . . . two hussars . . . one of them Mr. Gill son to the notary of that name in Balto.

" After the hollow square was formed . . . Gill came up to Major Barney and began crying: now I'll see the murderers—now I'll see the d——d tory that shot my friend Williams while we were standing together. . . . Gill as soon as Gen. Stricker proposed that the most respectable citizens and those who respected the laws should go into the hollow square said: . . . 'Major Barney what shall I do must I go and protect the very man who murdered my friend? I'll do whatever you tell me.' I told him to go into the square, that he had behaved like a man all night, and that he must continue to act like one, and go into the square, and he said 'Now lads I will protect the murderers myself—they shall not be injured, I tell you what, I'll kill any one of you who attempts to injure them—you are all my friends, therefore I hope you will mind me. . . .' Shortly after the party came out, it was with the greatest difficulty I prevented the mob from seizing or striking some of the persons. I pricked several with my sword. . . . Gen. Stricker collared one of the mob, told him if he attempted to molest one of the gentlemen he would put him to death. . . . I reached that part of the square where Mr. Hanson was; the whole force must have been directed towards him. I must have wounded several with my sword, for I had to use the point of it frequently. . . . About sun-rise next morning (July 29, 1812) I took my horse and went to the gaol. . . . Seeing the marks of blood on the wall, the tattered and bloody remnants of cloathing hats with the marks of heavy blows on them, one of them with blood in it, a coat which had been black laying in a corner, its sleeves

turned inside out which with the caps was clotted with blood, the print of a bloody hand upon the wall—I felt myself wound up to a pitch I had never before experienced and exclaimed the Gaoler ought to be hung . . . (on July 27) the two magistrates were detained until near sun-rise . . . orders being to let no one in or out . . . a man twice during the night came out of the corner house with a rifle and was each time preparing to fire into the house of Hanson when I detected him, and he pledged himself not to attempt it again—he was a very good looking man, an American perfectly sober and at each time smiling. . . . In answer to remonstrances of mine I was shown in a neighbouring house the dead body of Doctor Gale which was an object extremely irritating to the mob. . . . I was on duty at the gaol two or three nights by order of Gen. Stricker when the mob threatened to take Mumma out. The first night it is my opinion the mob would have taken Mumma out had not the military appeared.

#### 55. Deposition of James P. Heath.

“ . . . a mob was demolishing the office of the *Federal Republican* . . . about 80 of the large assemblage engaged in destroying the house. . . . I applied to Judge Scott to know if he would admit the gentlemen who were in gaol to bail, he readily consented to do so; a number of the most wealthy and respectable men in the city came forward for that purpose and after being collected at Judge Scott’s house the Mayor came in and objected to their being bailed alleging as I was informed that a verdict of murder had been brought in against the prisoners.”

#### 56. Deposition of Henry H. Ducker.

“ . . . Captain David Warfield and myself expressed our astonishment at the forebearance of the gentlemen in the house for not firing ball after being so long and so grossly insulted, and no aid offered them from the civil or military authority. . . . I saw a dirty looking man there, who they called Doctor and frequently previous hearing that Doctor

Lewis was fond of being at the head of like disturbances I thought it was him (?) but they called him Gale. He was one of the most riotous and leading assassins among them."

57. Deposition of John Lee Potts.

" . . . the forebearance of the gentlemen in the house surprised myself and was observed by many bystanders. . . . a man called Gales addressed the mob in the street denouncing the gentlemen in the house as tories, traitors and enemies to their country. The effect of his address was to increase the fury of the mob against the men in the house."

58. Deposition of Thos. Russell.

" . . . acting as adjutant to the regt. of artillery commanded by Col. Harris of the city of Balto. on the 28th of July, they were informed about 6.30 that Gen. Stricker had issued orders to dismiss the military. The Col. not having rec'd any official order from General Stricker on the subject and not believing it. . . . they went to the gaol and found Gen. S. in an enclosure near the gaol. . . . orders had been issued to dismiss all the military. . . . Mr. G. Stephenson told deponent that if he did not wish to be torn to pieces he had better leave the ground (being in uniform)."

59. Deposition of Doctor John Owen.

" . . . I arrived at the gaol after the bodies had been replaced in the room of their confinement previous to the attack upon them. . . . I am surgeon (5<sup>th</sup> regt. M. M.) . . . and did turn out instantly on the ringing of the bell. . . . I found not one individual in uniform. . . . After the attack on the gaol . . . it was believed a number of the supposed dead could be revived. I instantly rode to the gaol when I found nine persons dreadfully cut and bruised, most of them senseless and one dead. Some Physicians retired . . . except Dr. Mercer who staid about half an hour. . . . Griffin and myself agreed to try and pass Hanson through the mob they

appearing very thin at the time. . . . After our return to the gaol I renewed my applications for those desperately wounded to be taken out; some physicians, some other persons and the sheriff had now come out and joined in vain in this application but managed so to engage the mob (now grown careless learning that Hanson had escaped) while a carriage was drove to the door under pretext of conveying physicians to town, three more of the prisoners were carried off—Musgrove, etc., remained. Some of the mob disappeared, and those remaining were prevailed on by Mumma and myself to go into the room and say if they would require any further revenge of men in that condition; they agreed still under much irritation to give them up provided we would take Lingen with them to the hospital, where they assured us they should not be molested. Two strangers to me assisted in conveying them to the hospital where I left them after sun-rise. While in the room with them sarcastical and abusive remarks were made about their foreign dress, Virginia boots, Montgomery coats, Patriots, etc., etc. Mumma said they had been beat enough to satisfy the devil, etc., and assisted in sewing on General Lee's nose and in lifting them to the carriage, which the others refused; the reasons assigned for all this conduct was the killing the people in Charles street, the certainty that they would escape from the gaol untry'd and unpunished.

"They showed no disposition to with-hold from them any medical or other assistance and spoke always of killing Hanson, and tarring and feathering the rest."

60. Deposition of Joseph H. Nicholson.
61. Deposition of Middleton B. Magruder.

" . . . about sunset 30 or 40 of those men (engaged in demolishing the house on Charles St.) marched in procession from the house, as is supposed for the gaol and about an hour after the alarm-bell rang. Between 9 and 10 I arrived at the gaol; but after it was broken open. I there witnessed a most horrid scene. The number of the mob did not exceed 300 or

400 hundred when I arrived. When I reached the gaol they were throwing the dead bodies in a heap a few steps from the gaol door. . . . ”

62. Deposition of John S. Abell.
63. Deposition of Geo. Atkinson.

“ . . . the forbearance of the party defending the house was beyond parallel.”

64. Deposition of Geo. Winchester.

“ . . . in justice to the Mayor, deponent says, during the time he seemed anxious to protect us and afford all the security in his power.”

65. Deposition of Isaac Causten.

“ . . . The day after the massacre at the gaol . . . Mr. Johnson asked me. . . . He said he thought if he saw some of them again he would be able to recognize them, and that if there was a law he would endeavour to have them hung, and appeared extremely solicitous to detect and bring them to justice.”

66. Deposition of Ezra Parker.
67. Deposition of Christopher Raborg, Jr.

“ . . . I am of the opinion that a systematized plan was laid for the destruction of the property but that the prime movers had the address to keep themselves in the background.”

68. Deposition of John Purviance.

“ . . . Mr. Walter Dorsey and some other gentlemen (who) were extremely solicitous that bail should immediately be taken . . . the gaol should be guarded by a strong military force, and that in its absence no effectual protection could be afforded to the gentlemen confined therein.”

69. Deposition of Wm. Lacomb.
70. Deposition of Levi Hollingsworth.

“during the few minutes I was at the prison some person whom I did not know said to some others whom I did not know that they, meaning the people whom we saw in groups about, had determined to take the prisoners out and kill some of them. . . .”

71. Deposition of Saml. Hollingsworth.

“. . . if the mayor opposed them they must or would put him out of the way. . . .”

72. Deposition of Richard B. Dorsey.

73. Deposition of Andrew Price.

74. Deposition of George Lindenberger.

In August, 1812, the proprs. of the *Federal Republican* requested from a number of the leading members of the bar their opinion whether they

“were justifiable in law in repelling the attack made upon them and killing the assailants in self defence.”

The yeas and nays were: Messrs. E. Tilghman, W. Lewis, W. Rawle, Joseph Hopkinson and Horace Binney, yea; and Robert Goodloe Harper, Philip Barton Key, Walter Dorsey and Thos. Buchanan, nay.

#### APPENDIX B.

Copy.

Sir,

General Robertson has given you leave to come to New York for which this will be your official pass.

Yours

(Signed)    J. LORING

*Commissioner of Prisoners*

Feb. 25, 1778.

Mr. James Lingan prisoner on his parole.

APPENDIX C.  
WAR DEPARTMENT  
THE ADJUTANT GENERAL'S OFFICE.

STATEMENT OF THE MILITARY SERVICE OF  
JAMES MACUBBIN LINGAN,  
second-lieutenant Md. Line and Rawling's Regt.  
Continental Troops, Revolutionary war

The name of James Macubbinn Lingham, whose name also appears as Lingan, is found in a communication dated Post Frederick May 7, 1779, and it is stated therein that he was a second lieutenant from Maryland, and that he was a prisoner July 11, 1776. A receipt book for certificates of the Maryland Line dated Annapolis Sept. 17, 1785, shows that he received the balance of subsistence, pay and commutation due him from the United States. His name also appears on an undated return of Maryland officers who had been prisoners. No further information relative to him as a member of the Maryland Line has been found, nor do any of the records show the designation of the organization to which he was attached.

The records also show that James Lingan 2d Lieutenant, Rawling's Regiment, Continental Troops, was commissioned July 22, 1776, and that he was taken prisoner Nov. 16, 1776, at Fort Washington, and confined on Long Island. His name also appears on a list dated Amboy Mch. 18, 1780, of American officers, prisoners of war "allowed to be unexceptionable." His name also appears on an undated list of officers whose exchanges had taken place at a meeting of the American and British Commissioners at New York. No further or later record of him his been found.

Official statement furnished to Mr. John B. Randolph Office of the Secretary of War, Nov. 17, 1908.

By authority of the Secretary of War

(Signed) I. B. HICKEY  
*Acting Adjutant General*

APPENDIX D.

ORDER OF FUNERAL MARCH,

1812.

Marshal on horseback                            Marshal on horseback

Four clergymen of different  
denominations

Committee of arrangements

MR CUSTIS OF ARLINGTON

*Orator of the day*

Music

Captain Stull's Rifle Corps, commanded by Lieutenant Kurtz

Four venerable                                    HEARSE;                            Four venerable

Pall Bearers                                    with the Horses                            Pall Bearers  
with white                                        clad in    with white  
scarfs    mourning                                        scarfs

Mr. GEORGE LINGAN, the General's son,  
Chief mourner.

The Generals horse in mourning, led by a groom

Family and relatives of the deceased,  
in Coaches.

The wounded veteran MAJOR MUSGROVE

Who survived the midnight massacre in which his brother  
soldier fell, bearing the General's sword and supported by

TWO HEROES OF THE REVOLUTION\*

MR. HANSON,

and other survivors of the band

WHO DEFENDED THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

\* The "two heroes of the Revolution" who supported Major Musgrove were Colonel Philip Stuart of Charles, who led the forlorn hope of Washington's horse in the battle of the Eutaws, and Major Stoddart. See "Oration of Mr. Custis of Arlington . . . in honor of the lamented Gen. James M. Lingan."

Veteran band of the Revolution  
Strangers of distinction  
Citizens from the Counties of Montgomery, Baltimore, Frederick, Charles, Prince George's and St. Mary's and from the Cities of Georgetown, Washington and Alexandria  
Marshal on Captain Peter's troop of Horse Marshal on Horseback commanded by Lt. John S. Williams Horseback

APPENDIX E.

Harriet Martineau in her "History of England," Book II, Chap. VII, p. 385, says:

"At Baltimore, a newspaper editor who had advocated peace was threatened with violence, his house attacked, and himself and his friends, among whom were the two Revolutionary generals and friends of Washington, Generals Lee and Lingan, conveyed to prison for safety from the mob who were bent on privateering. The next day the jail was forced; General Lee had his skull fractured and Gen. Lingan was killed on the spot."

APPENDIX F.

In May of 1903 the Daughters of the American Revolution (Dolly Madison Chapter) put up a bronze marker over the patriot's remains which at that time still rested where they had been laid on his own estate. But the city had encroached upon it and spread beyond it, and in November of 1908 they were transferred to the National Cemetery at Arlington and reinterred with the full military honors due a general officer.\*

With regard to his rank: I have closed my researches with his Revolutionary record; but he is men-

\* The religious services were conducted by the Rector of old Christ Church (Episcopal) in Georgetown, of which church the General was a member.

tioned as lieutenant colonel by Mr. Hugh Taggart in his "Old Georgetown"; and in all the contemporary literature of the day, state reports, state records, daily journals, American and English histories, he is called general, a title which would have been challenged at the time had he not been entitled to it.

General Lee's commission was issued a few weeks before the massacre, and he and Lingan are bracketed together as "the two generals."

## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF JOHN FREDERICK MAY, M.D.

BY WILLIAM HENRY DENNIS.

The founder in this country of the family of the late Dr. John Frederick May appears to have been John May, who was born in England in 1590, crossed the Atlantic in 1635, and finally settled in Roxbury, Mass., in 1640.

The father of the subject of this sketch was Dr. Frederick May, who was born in 1773 and died January 23, 1849. He was a graduate of Dartmouth College and Harvard University (1792), studied medicine with Dr. John Warren, and lived about fifty years in Washington, as an eminent physician and an influential and useful citizen. He was medical professor in Columbian College, and his lectures, delivered without notes, were very instructive and impressive. He was one of the projectors of the Long Bridge over the Potomac, and an original corporator of the Medical Society of the District.

Dr. John Frederick May was born in Washington, May 19, 1812, and died here May 1, 1891. He had a brilliant reputation in medicine and surgery, having been the first in this part of the world to perform successfully the operation of amputation at the hip joint.

He was a student of Columbian College in 1831, was graduated in medicine in 1834, and completed his studies in Paris in 1837. He was professor of surgery in the University of Maryland at the age of twenty-five. In 1841 he aided in reorganizing the Medical Department of Columbian College, and was professor of

anatomy and surgery therein until 1858. He was a man of commanding presence, and of that powerful and impressive physique which is characteristic of the family. He left a widow, two sons and four daughters, all of whom are living except one daughter, the late Mrs. Wm. C. Whitney.

One of his brothers was Charles May, of the Army, commander of the celebrated "May's Dragoons" in the Mexican War. Another brother, George May, became a leading citizen, of large fortune, at New Orleans. Another brother was Henry May, of Baltimore, who was a Representative in Congress before the Civil War, and left a large family, some of whom now reside in Washington.

Among the many important events in the long and honorable career of Dr. John Frederick May, that which attracted the widest and most intense interest was his remarkable association, in his professional capacity as a surgeon, with the tragedy of the murder of President Lincoln. Long afterwards, in January, 1887, he wrote his observations on this subject, in a paper which he entitled "The Mark of the Scalpel." It was not published during his life, and only fragmentary extracts from it have been printed in a few newspapers since his death.

Its historical importance is derived from Dr. May's positive and scientific identification of the body of John Wilkes Booth, before its burial at Washington. This refers to a question which is still actively debated; and only about a year ago, in 1908, a book was published purporting to be written by a lawyer in Tennessee, named Finis L. Bates, solemnly arguing that Booth was alive until 1903, when he committed suicide at Enid, in Oklahoma, where he was known as "David E. George." Besides the intrinsic interest of Dr. May's

paper, it has value as tending to lay at rest this vain and rather wild controversy.

Although the fact is not mentioned in the following paper, Dr. May, on account of his eminence as a surgeon, was summoned hurriedly to the bedside of the dying Lincoln, probed the wound, and confirmed the sad opinion that human skill could do nothing to avert the fatal result.

### THE MARK OF THE SCALPEL.\*

BY JOHN FREDERICK MAY, M.D.

(Read before the Society, February 9, 1909, by William Henry Dennis at the request of the Board of Managers, the ensuing twelfth of February being the centennial of President Lincoln's birth.)

Was the body brought to the Navy Yard at Washington, about two weeks after the assassination of President Lincoln, and there seen on a Government steamer, that of John Wilkes Booth?

Such is the question I was often asked at that time, both orally and also by letters; some dictated by patriotism, and others from curiosity.

And it is well known there was much doubt on this subject; and strange as it may appear, I have credibly been told there are still persons living who do not believe that was the body of the assassin of the President of the United States.

Personal identification, as we know, is far from being certain; and especially may this be said of identification after death. Without citing the celebrated and extraordinary case of "The Claimant" [in the Tichborne case] many others might be found to show that persons have often been supposed to be living, after the most indubitable evidence to prove they were dead. From them, one very remarkable historical instance may be selected, to show how far popular credulity may be extended as to personal identity after death.

\* This paper is now printed, in its entirety, for the first time.

The Duke of Monmouth, the illegitimate and favorite son of Charles the Second, and also the favorite of the English people, was, as is well known, taken in open rebellion against his uncle, James the Second, after the battle of Sedgemoor. He was sent to the Tower, and soon after was brought into the presence of the King, from whom he abjectly begged for life on any terms. He was visited by the Earl of Clarendon, Keeper of the Privy Seal, and other high functionaries of the State; and he received spiritual consolation, while imprisoned, from Dr. Thomas Tennison, then vicar of St. Martin's, and two of the Lords Bishops of England (Turner and Ken), and finally, in July, 1685, he was *publicly* beheaded on Tower Hill. And yet after such positive proof of his identity and death, it was for many years afterwards a common belief among the people, that another person, who it was said strongly resembled him, had sacrificed himself for him, and that Monmouth would again appear among them; and in 1698, thirteen years afterwards, and when England was ruled by another dynasty, "the son of an innkeeper," says Lord Macaulay, "passed himself off on the yeomanry of Sussex for their beloved Monmouth, and defrauded many who were by no means of the lowest class. Five hundred pounds were collected for him. The farmers provided him with a horse. Their wives sent him baskets of chickens and ducks, and were lavish, it was said of favors of a more tender kind; for in gallantry, at least, the counterfeit was a not unworthy representative of the original. When this impostor was thrown into prison for his fraud, his followers maintained him in luxury. Several of them appeared at the bar to countenance him, when he was tried at the Horsham assizes. So long did this delusion last, that, when George the Third had been some years on the English throne, Voltaire thought it necessary gravely to confute the hypothesis that 'the Man in the Iron Mask,' was the Duke of Monmouth."

The question, then, at the head of this article, need create no very great surprise, even at this lapse of time, when all the facts connected with it are known.

Some time before the assassination of President Lincoln, a

fashionably dressed, and remarkably handsome young man, accompanied by a friend, entered my office in Washington, and introduced himself to me as Mr. Booth. After some ordinary conversation, he told me, that he was playing an engagement with Miss Charlotte Cushman, and was much annoyed by a large lump on the back of his neck, which for some time past had been gradually increasing in size, and had begun to show above the collar line of the ordinary theatrical costume. He said that he wished to have it removed; and he particularly enjoined me to say, (if questioned upon the fact of his having undergone a surgical operation), "that it was for the removal of a bullet from his neck." But he did not give any reason for this request. Without promising to observe this injunction, I examined his neck, and found on the back of it and rather on the left side, quite a large fibroid tumour, but which could have no connection with a bullet, as to its origin, or in any other way. I advised its removal, but at the same time told him that I would take it out on one condition, which was, that he should suspend his engagement at the theatre, and observe absolute rest. He replied, that he did not wish to do this, in fact, he could not. I then explained to him the importance of his remaining quiet after such an operation, upon the ground of his personal appearance; that there were two principal ways by which a wound made by a surgical operation healed; the first, and most to be desired, by primary adhesion, by which, if the edges were brought closely together, and kept in contact for some little time, they become directly united, and left so fine a line of cicatrix, as scarcely to be noticed. But, that this bond of union, though daily becoming stronger, was weak for some days after the adhesion, and could easily be broken by undue violence; and if once broken, the wound would gape, and its edges not be likely to re-unite; and then the space between them would have to fill up with new tissue or flesh, and an ugly scar would be left. After quietly listening to this explanation, he told me in a very decided way that he could not stop playing his engagement, but would be very careful in acting, and moderate his movements so as to make

no strain upon the wound. I saw it was necessary to humour him; for there was so much determination in his manner as to convince me that he had decided to have the offending object at once removed, and whatever might be the result, he would himself become responsible for it. Compromising with him then upon that basis, I removed it. The wound perfectly united by the primary or direct process, and I congratulated him upon the slight scar that would be left. But in about a week after it had united, he came one morning to my office with the wound torn open and widely gaping, and told me, that in some part of the piece he was playing with Miss Cushman, she had to embrace him, and that she did so with so much force, and so roughly, that the wound opened under her grasp. The indirect and tedious course of healing by granulation now followed, and left a *large and ugly scar*.

Why I have been thus particular in giving the details of this conversation with Booth, the sequel will show.

I had never seen him before this professional interview, and I never saw him again after he left my care, until I was called on by Government detectives to examine his dead body, brought to the Navy Yard at Washington, and there seen on a steamer in the river.

After the death of Booth, strong doubt existed whether the body brought to the Navy Yard at Washington was that of the man who had assassinated the President. In fact it was openly asserted that it was not his body. Probably in consequence of this, a commission of high functionaries of the government was formed to obtain evidence as to its identification, and I received a summons to appear before it. As I was very busily, and as I thought, more usefully engaged in rendering services to the living, than in examining the bodies of the dead, and as no authority for the summons was shown, I did not respond to it. But in a short time, a second and more peremptory message came, directing me to appear before the commission, and as at that time the "*Inter arma silent leges*" power was in full force, I deemed it most prudent to obey. I therefore started for the Navy Yard with my son, then a mere lad, and now a practicing physician in this city. On

my way a third messenger was met on his way to my house, who was no less than the chief of the detective corps, the noted Colonel Baker.

He returned, conducted me on board the steamer, and ushered me into the cabin where the commissioners were in session, and by whom, notwithstanding my contumacy, I was very politely received. I was then told it had been stated to them I had removed a tumor from the neck of Booth, and they wished to know if I could identify the body; and to go on deck and examine it thoroughly and make my report. The body was on deck, completely concealed by a tarpaulin cover, and Surgeon General Barnes and his assistants standing near it. By his order the cover was removed, and to my great astonishment revealed a body in whose lineaments there was to me no resemblance of the man I had known in life! My surprise was so great that I at once said to General Barnes, "There is no resemblance in that corpse to Booth, nor can I believe it to be that of him." After looking at it for a few moments, I asked "Is there a scar upon the back of its neck?" He replied "There is." I then said, "If that is the body of Booth, let me describe the scar before it is seen by me"; and did so as to its position, its size, and its general appearance, so accurately as caused him to say "You have described the scar as well as if you were looking at it; and it looks, as you have described it, more like the cicatrix of a burn than that made by a surgical operation." The body being then turned, the back of the neck was examined, and my *mark* was unmistakably found by me upon it. And it being afterwards, at my request, placed in a sitting position, standing, and looking down upon it, I was finally enabled to imperfectly recognize the features of Booth. But never in a human being had a greater change taken place, from the man whom I had seen in the vigor of life and health, than in that of the haggard corpse which was before me, with its yellow and discolored skin; its unkempt and matted hair; and its whole facial expression sunken and sharpened by the exposure and starvation it had undergone!

The right lower limb was greatly contused, and perfectly black from a fracture of one of the long bones of the leg.

An autopsy was then made by the assistants of General Barnes, which proved that the bullet which killed him, passed between two of the vertebrae of the neck, causing their fracture and lesion of the spinal cord.

The body was secretly, and at night, buried in the yard of the penitentiary; which was not generally known for some time afterwards.

I have thus given an account of the cause which led to the positive identification of the body of Booth. The details, as I have related them, are still as vivid in my memory as at the time of their occurrence, for they are inseparably connected with a deed which brought sorrow and mourning to every house and hamlet in the land; and which produced a shock of horror, that extended not only to the limits of our own country, but whose vibrations were felt throughout the civilization of the world!

That great uncertainty was felt, and that much doubt was expressed at the time of the death of Booth and long afterwards, as to the identity of his body, is notorious. Nor need this create surprise, for although the circumstances connected with his capture all tended to corroborate the belief that he had been killed, yet from the body which was produced by his captors, nearly every vestige of resemblance to the living man had disappeared. But the mark made by the scalpel during life remained indelible in death, and settled beyond all question at the time, and all cavil in the future, the identity of the man who had assassinated the President.

And now I may be pardoned in offering some remarks as to the mental condition of Booth at the time he publicly, in a theatre where he was well known, assassinated the President of the United States. That he was then sane in mind I never have believed. His antecedents, and all his actions connected with that dreadful tragedy, I think sustain me in this view. Insanity through inheritance is so well recognized by all men of common sense, as to need no support from expert evidence; for, unfortunately, it but too often is manifested by transmission from one, or even a more distant generation to another, to admit of any doubt as to its hereditary nature.

That the father of Booth was subject to occasional or periodical attacks of that disease, was the opinion of many; while others have characterized the aberrations which he often manifested, both on and off the stage, as the "eccentricities of genius." I well recollect his acting of sixty years since, and he was, I think, the greatest actor (and I have seen all the best) that ever trod our stage. But no one who saw him in the latter part of his career, could form a just conception of the magnificent acting of his earlier and palmy days, for he gradually failed until he became a mental wreck. In shape, and form, and feature, as I recollect the elder Booth, the son strongly resembled the father, and if ever there was an eye which asserted a claim by inheritance in its wild expression, it was that of the younger Booth.

And now let us look at his conduct in the commission of the crime. He was an actor, and consequently could have disguised himself, by a knowledge which was part of his art, so thoroughly that no one could possibly have known him. Did he do this? No; but publicly, in the sight of every one, and without the slightest attempt at concealment, he fired the fatal shot, and as if glorying in the act, shouting the well-known motto of the State of Virginia, he sprang from the box in which he committed the deed upon the stage, breaking his leg; but yet facing the audience, and in the full blaze of light, he flourished aloft in a stage-like attitude a dagger and proclaimed, "the South is avenged"; and not until he had given this theatrical exhibition, did he cross the stage and flee. Would any sane man have acted in this way? Would he, influenced by public or private wrong, thus openly have sought his victim in a crowded theatre, where he was so well known, and without the least attempt at disguise, proclaimed his infamy to the world as if *acting a part upon the stage?* I think not, but believe that Booth, when he committed that fell crime, was driven to it by another impulse than solely the gratification of personal malice or revenge. The public manner of its commission; the seeming desire to make himself known from the stage as its author; the theatrical display with which he announced it; his entire conduct throughout

this dreadful tragedy in real life, all prove to me that he believed he had done a deed which would place his name upon the scroll of future fame; a deed, which in the hackneyed yet expressive lines of the hump-backed tyrant he had often impersonated on the stage, would make him, like

“The aspiring youth that fired the Ephesian dome,  
Outlive in fame the pious fool that rais'd it.”

And if such was the motive which impelled him to it, it could have originated only in “a mind diseased,” a *madman's brain!*

And again, let us look at the circumstances connected with his capture, the details of which, though given for the greater part from my own memory, have recently been verified by the chronicles of the times, and especially the accounts given by those who captured him.

He crossed the Potomac River near Swan Point, from the Maryland side, with the youth Herold, although the lower counties were swarming with cavalrymen and detectives in his pursuit. It is stated that 1,600 of the former, and 600 of the latter, were in lower Maryland, looking for him. But a special detail of twenty-five men of the 16th New York Cavalry, commanded by Lieut. Dougherty, was put under the charge of Col. Conger and Lieut. Baker of the detective corps. After he had wandered for many days and nights, half-starved and often shelterless, through the swamps of the Maryland and Virginia shores, upon a broken limb, they finally tracked him to Garrett's farm, near Port Royal on the Rappahannock River, and found him sleeping in a log barn, about two hours before the early dawn. And thus caught, caged and surrounded, but undismayed, he rose up from his lair like some wild and wounded animal brought to bay, and limping around it, weapon in hand, refused in “a loud clarion reply, heard distinctly at the house one hundred yards distant,” every proposal to surrender. The order to the soldiers was to take him alive, but they felt it was as dangerous to enter that barn as if it held an escaped tiger. A *parley of an hour and a quarter*

ensued, during which he seriously proposed as a condition of leaving the barn, a series of single combats in the open field; that he would come out and face and fight his enemies one and all, if they would only meet him singly, and each one in his turn; a proposition so absurd and wild, that it could only have proceeded from a crazed and bewildered brain.

Herold endeavored to persuade him to surrender, but this only increased his rage, and with fearful curses on him as a coward, he bade Herold leave him. He did so, and was immediately seized and handcuffed by Conger. Booth had been warned the cabin would be fired unless he laid down his arms and surrendered, for it was stored with hay; but his answer was "to fight the soldiers in detail." Finally, some straw was drawn through a crevice and ignited, and in a few moments the interior was in a blaze of light; and then, dropping his carbine, he crouched on his hands and knees, and "animal-like, rapidly crept towards the point where the fire had been started," to shoot with one of his revolvers, the man who had applied the match. From an account written a few days after his death, and by one *who had it from his captors*, the appearance of a maniac at that moment cannot better be described. "His eyes were lustrous, like from fever, and swelled and rolled in terrible beauty, while his teeth were fixed, and he wore the expression of one in the calmness before frenzy."<sup>\*</sup> But with vengeance gleaming in his eyes, he sought his foe in vain; for the fire which was fast encircling him concealed him from his view. And then literally "cribb'd, cabin'd and confin'd," and surrounded by fire, he stood firm and erect, almost enveloped in its flames, with his carbine poised for action, and defiant to the last. At this moment Corbett, the sergeant of the company, contrary to orders, fired a shot through an opening he found between the logs; which shot put an end soon after to the existence of a man, whose actions and appearance throughout this dark tragedy, were those of a madman!

Most writers on mental disease have noticed the insensitivity of many maniacs to pain and extremes of temperature.

\* *National Intelligencer*, article signed G. A. T.

Foville, Esquirol, Spurzheim, Rush and others have given numerous instances of this nature. Says Foville, under the head of "False perceptions relative to general Sensibility"; "These derangements, from the most simple and circumscribed, to those which are of a more general and complex nature, are constantly seen in the practice of mental diseases. Many of these afflicted without appearing to suffer, support the most intense degrees of heat and cold." "I have at this moment under my care, a man, who believes himself dead since the battle of Austerlitz, where he was badly wounded. His delirium is founded on the idea, that he no longer recognizes or feels his body. He has often fallen into a state of complete insensibility, which has lasted for several days. Sinapisms and blisters applied for this condition have not caused the slightest pain. I have often examined the sensibility of his skin by pinching his arms and legs, and to be certain he was not feigning, I have pricked him severely in the back while talking to him, without his feeling it."\*

But the most extraordinary instance of human endurance, under tortures unparalleled in the history of criminal punishment, is that of the maniac Damiens, who was executed for an attempt on the life of Louis XV in the year 1757. The King, surrounded by his courtiers, was about to enter his carriage, when he was slightly wounded in the side from a knife, by this insane man, who was immediately seized. He was subjected to the preliminary torture, that remnant of feudal barbarism which still remained in France, to extort a confession of his having accomplices. Though submitted to its most cruel tests, he denied having any, but said he had asked to be freely bled, (feeling, no doubt, his paroxysm of madness was approaching) and that if this had been done, he would not have committed the act.

In a few days after this, the following was the punishment inflicted:

His right hand, which had held the knife, was burned over a brazier filled with charcoal mixed with sulphur, and after this had been done, his limbs and body were torn with red-hot

\* "Dictionnaire de Médecine et de Chirurgie pratiques."

pincers, and burning oil, resin, melted lead and sulphur were alternately poured into his wounds. He was then securely bound to a St. Andrew's cross, which was horizontally fastened on a strong platform, and four powerful horses were attached to his limbs in order to separate them from his body. These horses, excited by the lashes of the whip and the shouts of the drivers, made three separate efforts to do this, and each time failed; such is the strength of the mechanism of the human frame. A surgeon (Boyer) who was officially present, knowing this fact, advised that the great ligaments of the joints should be divided, which being done by the executioners with a hatchet, his limbs finally separated one at a time, after this torture of one hour and a half, during which he lived, and only expired as the last limb (one of his arms) parted from his body!

A writer in a well-known medical journal devoted to the diseases of the mind, in alluding to the insensibility to pain and wonderful tenacity of life evinced by this poor maniac, says: "His torture was one hour and a half, during which no sign or groan escaped him; on the contrary, he joked and exhibited other characteristics of a madman, and he continued to live after his lower limbs were separated, raising his head occasionally to survey his mutilations!"\*

The facts connected with the execution of Damiens are historical, and by no one who has described them can I find this account, as to this complete insensibility, sustained. But it is true that he bore this fearful punishment with intrepid firmness, and in the words of Sanson, his executioner, "at times defied and stimulated"† his tormenters in their diabolical work, and gave only at the commencement of it, such signs of pain as are inseparable from human nature.

Such, for a feeble and abortive attack upon royalty, was the punishment, something over a century and a quarter ago, inflicted by man, upon his fellow man, whose reason had been darkened by man's Creator!

\* *American Journal of Insanity* for October, 1846.

† "Memoires de Sanson," Tome 2.

There is nothing in the history of human progress which more clearly demonstrates the advancement of the mind in all its human and manlier instincts, than the morbid curiosity and the depraved indifference with which this iniquitous deed was witnessed at the time of its perpetration; and the disgust and horror which the bare recital of it now creates. There was not a window or available spot around the Place de Gréve, the scene of this awful tragedy, which was not bought up and filled by the thousands of a great city. Not only the people, but the nobles of enlightened *France* were there, her titled women, too, as well as men. The peer and the princess stood together, little dreaming how near was the day of their own dread retribution, to feast their eyes upon a sight which for atrocity and infernal cruelty, has never been approached by all the devilish devices practiced on his victim at the stake, by the wild and painted savage of *America* in his bygone days! Nor can it excite any wonder that a country in which such a deed could be committed a little more than a century and a quarter ago, was in a little more than a quarter of a century after its commission, lighted up by the fires of a Revolution which could only be extinguished by a deluge of blood. Yet as the fire of the electric bolt, though fearfully destructive in its course, purifies in its passage from the clouds the atmosphere which surrounds it, so the terrific fire of that Revolution purified the moral atmosphere of France, for when it died out, it had forever destroyed the unlimited power of her Kings and nobles, and advanced the political rights of her people.

Many pages might be filled with cases of this insensibility, to both local and general pain and extremes of temperature, by maniacs.

The master-mind which wrote for all time, whose knowledge of nature was universal, and whose pen seldom, if ever, errs in portraying her in all her varied forms, aware of this truth, has thus finely expressed the insensibility of the mad king to the elements, when, addressing *Kent* in the storm scene in "King Lear," the latter says:

Lear. "Thou think'st 'tis much that this contentious storm  
In'vedes us to the skin: so 'tis to thee;  
But where the *greater malady* is fix'd  
*The lesser is scarce felt*"—“When the mind's free  
The body's delicate: the tempest in my mind  
Doth from my senses take all feeling else  
Save what beats there."

I firmly believe it was the indifference, both to the elements and to pain, from this "tempest in the mind," which enabled Booth to elude his enemies so long, in a section of country swarming with them and completely under their control. How else can we account for the indomitable spirit by which, unsheltered at night and famished by day, he wandered for twelve days and nights over forest and through fen *on a broken limb*, and when at last hunted down, with a maniac's look and rage, hurled defiance at his foes, while enveloped in flames and standing on the very verge of death?

Such are the principal grounds which have always led me to believe Booth was a monomaniac when he assassinated President Lincoln; and the consideration of many of his acts, prior to that time, have only tended to confirm this belief. Inheriting by nature the temperament of his father, like him he became madly excited in the ordinary performance of his art; for his passions rose to a fevered heat in the mimic acts of the characters he personated on the stage. In the fencing scenes of some of the plays of the great dramatist, such as "Richard" and "Macbeth," he became so "madly frenzied," that his fellow actors actually feared to encounter him; for his onslaught on them was often more real than feigned, and the records of the stage are full of their mishaps. On one of those occasions he wounded McCulloch, and while the blood was streaming from his face, quietly asked if he had hurt him; on another he threw or drove "the Richmond of the night among the drums and fiddles of the orchestra." Thus fitful and tempestuous by nature in the mimic drama of the stage, and ever brooding for months over the greater drama of the war as it was culminating towards the subjection of the South, his distorted vision converted the red and

emblematic stripes of his country's flag into "*bloody gashes in the face of heaven*" inflicted on her by the North.\* And thus, with blood ever streaming on its folds when they floated before his distempered brain, (as the red flag displayed in the arena infuriates the bull) it goaded and maddened him to the commission of a crime which has forever consigned his name to infamy.

There have been three attempts to assassinate the President of the United States since the foundation of the Republic, and two of which unfortunately were but too fatal. The first was by a crazy fool, an Englishman by birth, who attempted by a pistol shot, to kill President Andrew Jackson while he was attending a funeral ceremony at the Capitol, in the month of January, 1835. The President was about to pass through the eastern door of the rotunda, escorted on either side by a Senator, when this foreign lunatic, whose name was Lawrence, at about the distance of eight or ten feet, either snapped or fired a pistol at him. Colonel Benton states in his "*Thirty Years in the U. S. Senate,*" that the weapon snapped, and that a second pistol was also snapped by Lawrence at the President; and this is also the statement given by Parton in his "*Life of General Jackson.*" But I believe their account is at least doubtful. Mr. Thomas Scrivener of this city, who is still living, was at the time one of the regular police of the Capitol building, and in that capacity was present, and not only witnessed the whole occurrence, but assisted in searching Lawrence after he was arrested. In a very recent interview I had with him, he was very positive that the pistol was fired, and that the impression made by the bullet was plainly visible on the frame-work of the door. He was also equally positive that no second pistol was snapped or found upon the prisoner. "The old hero," says my informant, "was for some moments perfectly unmanageable, his hair seemed to bristle from rage, and he was with much difficulty restrained from attacking his assailant with his cane; and only when he was

\* See Booth's letter, written some months before he committed his crime, and addressed "To all whom it may concern," in which he thus describes the flag of the Union as always appearing to him.

told the man was known to be insane, could he be pacified." The insanity of Lawrence was clearly established, and he was sent to an Insane Asylum, and kept there until he died.

The second, and but too fatal attack upon the President, was that of Booth.

The third, and let us devoutly trust it may be the last, that of comparatively recent date, happened at a time of profound peace and prosperity, and when none of the exciting causes existed from a fratricidal war to unbalance the mind. Yet the evidences of Guiteau's insanity were to my mind conclusive. His vacillating conduct prior to the commission of his crime; the place and manner of its execution; the motive which he assigned that impelled him to it; his expectation of immunity from punishment, and protection from the second officer of the Government; and his subsequent behavior, especially during his trial, all clearly prove to me he was an insane man. But a long and most patient trial satisfied the court and jury that tried him, of his responsibility for his crime, and the verdict was fully ratified by the nation. And for its further satisfaction, an autopsy of his brain was ordered, and it was confidently stated by those who made it, that it was in a normal condition, and consequently indicated no traces of insanity. And it may be added, nor was there much likelihood of proof being furnished, from that or any autopsy, to have established the converse of that statement; for the anatomist is unable with any degree of certainty to demonstrate by physical examination the mysterious cause of the varied mental phenomena of the brain, either in health or in disease; or to prove from it after death, what must have been the mental condition of the individual during life.

What, we may ask, is it in its construction which sends forth individual thoughts and actions, that leave their impress not only upon the age in which they are born, but which cause the names of those that have produced them to live for all time? What is it in the organization of that earthly tenant of

"The dome of thought, the palace of the soul."

which has enabled it during its brief sojourn here below to determine the laws that govern matter, and by their aid to survey the starry vault above, and measure with unerring precision the forces that direct not only the planet on which it lives, but those of the countless worlds that are ever revolving in the infinitude of space? And again, what is it in that same organ which reduces man in his instincts and in his passions, lower than the lowest animal of the brute creation? Compare the brains of the two, of the brilliant genius and the stupid human brute,—and they will be found in appearance alike! In form, in texture, in color, in consistence in internal and external arrangement, they are the same; and even in size and quantity, that of the fool will occasionally outweigh that of the philosopher; and the anatomist might be puzzled even though *aided by phrenology* to tell to which each brain belonged. Science is compelled to pause here, and confess it has gone no further. It cannot give a satisfactory explanation of this mental mystery. It is a psychological enigma which the scalpel cannot solve; for it cannot reveal the mysterious connection between the brain and the mind; the relation between the material and the spiritual; the link which connects perishable matter with the immortal soul!

It is, therefore, in vain that the pathologist has endeavored to explain with any certainty from the organ of the mind, the changes which it presents when diseased. It is true he has found certain conditions, such as increased vascularity, effusions in its ventricles and elsewhere; alterations in consistence and color, adhesions, and other structural changes in the brains and skulls of maniacs, but these are far from being constant, and the same have been found in others, in whom no symptom of insanity had existed. In fact the same appearances which some pathologists have given as to be sometimes seen in insane persons, have also been found in those whose minds have been remarkable for intellectual power. The brain of the celebrated mathematician Lagrange presented the same condition as that which had been described by Morgagni as characteristic of certain forms of mania. The truth is that in chronic insanity the brain often gives no evidence of the disease.

A celebrated writer (Foville), who has studied as profoundly the state of the brain in mental derangement as any one of our time, and who believes he has shown by innumerable dissections the alterations which it presents when diseased, yet thus speaks of the labors of others who had preceded him upon the same subject: "Many physicians reject altogether the results of pathological anatomy applied to mental derangement; for one of their arguments is that the results are different in different subjects, and consequently nothing conclusive can be reached. I admit the various results which I have enumerated, seem to me too vague to enable us to draw any precision from them." And Pinel, who devoted his life to the same study, affirmed "that the most exact dissections have as yet shown us nothing as to the seat of mental diseases, and that the derangements of the functions of the mind, which ordinarily are the result of alterations of the brain, do not enable us positively to draw the conclusion that the brain is exclusively the organ of the soul." While Gall and Spurzheim, who assert that the brain is not a single organ, but an assemblage of as many organs as there are particular moral and intellectual faculties, which they have located and classified upon it, and have thus endeavored to give precision to their separate functions, have yet been compelled to admit that "there are a great number of cases where notwithstanding the most considerable derangements of the intellectual faculties, no defect has been discovered in the brain."

So uncertain has physical exploration in insanity proved, that some have sought its primary cause, reacting upon the brain, in other organs of the body, as the liver, the stomach and intestines, the heart, and even the spleen; while others, more visionary, have endeavored to show it was not a physical affection but one of the soul itself; a doctrine too absurd for serious consideration, and repulsive to every feeling of nature; for we must cross the dark line of the materialist to suppose that the soul, like vile perishable matter, is susceptible of decay or change.

When the ancient philosophers located the seat of the soul

in the pineal gland of the brain, I think they approached about as near the truth as does modern science when it undertakes to give positive proof, through physical research, of those conditions of the brain which produce the varied phenomena of mental derangement.

And to the three things which the wise man of old confessed were "too wonderful for him,"\* for they left to his vision no trace of their passage, might be added that of the mysterious working of the human brain, both in health and in disease.

My object, when I commenced this article, was only to give an account of the identification of the body of Booth; but I have incidentally been led to state the opinion I have always entertained and often expressed of his mental condition, and that also of his fellow assassin, at the time of the commission of their crimes. If in alluding to the autopsy of Guiteau, I have expressed views as to the uncertainty of examinations of the brain after death throwing positive or certain light upon its actions during life, it has been to disabuse a popular belief which I think exists upon this subject, that such proof is conclusive. And it may be added, its length has been extended from my desire to show, what it has given me much consolation to believe, that for the credit of our country none but *madmen* have assailed with murderous intent the Chief Magistrate of the Nation since the foundation of the Republic.

JNO. FRED'K MAY, M.D.

WASHINGTON,  
Jan. 10, 1887.

\* Proverbs, Chap. XXX, ver. 18.

## REMINISCENCES OF THE HON. EDWIN M. STANTON, SECRETARY OF WAR.

By ALBERT E. H. JOHNSON.\*

(Read before the Society, March 9, 1909, by Mr. Guy H. Johnson.)

Edwin McMasters Stanton enlisted for war against the great rebellion in the Supreme Court of the United States, in January, 1861, when the Southern States and Washington were ablaze with secession. He was then engaged in the celebrated Myra Clark Gaines case, and on that occasion he made the first declaration of patriotism concerning the approaching war heard in that court. The incident occurred in the suggestion of Mr. Stanton to the court that he looked for action in that case the following summer. "That will be impossible," said the opposing distinguished counsel, Caleb Cushing, "because this court will not then be in existence." At this the justices stared at each other in amazement and Mr. Stanton springing to his feet, and, glaring at Mr. Cushing, exclaimed: "This court and this nation will endure until long after all knowledge of those now in this august presence shall have passed into oblivion."

The court was in politics Democratic—Mr. Cushing was a Democrat—the Senate was Democratic, the

\* Albert E. H. Johnson was confidential secretary to the Secretary of War during the entire period of Mr. Stanton's incumbency; and for faithful and meritorious performance of his duty was appointed Major and Assistant Adjutant General of Volunteers just as the war was closing.

Major Johnson died May 12, 1909, shortly after the reading of the foregoing paper to the Society. He was born in Washington in the year 1827 and had lived there his whole life.

President was a Democrat, members of his cabinet were traitors and the nation trembled in the background.

From that moment Mr. Stanton, a distinguished lawyer and a Democrat, became the hope of the nation. As Attorney General in the cabinet of President Buchanan, confronting the treason of the members of that cabinet, he told the President that he was sleeping on a volcano in entertaining the plea of the rebel commissioners that the possession of its own property, Fort Sumter, by the government, was deemed a menace to the State of South Carolina; that the ground was mined all round and under him, ready to explode, and, without prompt and energetic action, he would be the last President of the United States.

In a single night Mr. Stanton broke the conspiracy in the cabinet that was disrupting the Union and the office of Attorney General then held by him became the rock against which the rebellion dashed.

As a member of President Buchanan's cabinet and watching the doings of the rebel commissioners from South Carolina and the traitorous cabinet members, he was at the same time in communication with the Republican leaders in Congress, and especially Mr. Seward, to whom Mr. Stanton disclosed the acts of the cabinet conspirators, and made suggestions to defeat their plans. For this he has been denounced as a spy and dishonorable in the highest degree, but President Lincoln deemed it patriotism of the purest character when he afterward offered him the War Department.

South Carolina passed the ordinance of secession the same day that Mr. Stanton became a member of President Buchanan's cabinet; and the first act of Mr. Stanton's coming power, was to stop the shipment of cannon, from the arsenal at Pittsburg, to forts in the

South, ordered by Secretary of War Floyd, who had been sending all kinds of war material to the South in preparation for war against his own government.

This was the result of the first act of Mr. Stanton as a "spy." The city of Pittsburg voted him its thanks for the first glimmer of patriotism in the cabinet of President Buchanan.

After Lincoln became President Mr. Stanton had denounced him and his cabinet in their apparent do-nothing policy to meet the approaching war, but in such denunciation he became a mighty factor in molding union sentiment in Washington, which, at that time, was crazy wild with whisky and secession, while the South was like a prairie on fire, the North looking on in amazement and wonder, waiting on Lincoln until it seemed that all the nation was crazy. Then it was that Stanton said: "I can never consent to the dissolution of the Union. The Capital is in danger and must be defended at all hazards."

In a little while the curtain was raised and the North came forth roaring as a lion ready for battle. The shells delivered at the flag on Fort Sumter had lifted the curtain and the actors of the South saw the power of the North.

Nine months later, in January, 1862, President Lincoln called this giant patriot into his cabinet saying that "he wanted him not for his politics, but for his patriotism and power." To Mr. Seward, referring to the President's offer, Mr. Stanton said: "Tell the President I will accept, if no other pledge than to throttle treason shall be exacted"; and the President, when cautioned that Stanton would run away with the whole concern and that he would find that he could do nothing with such a man unless he let him have his own way, said: "I might have to put bricks in his pockets, but if

I do it would be better than bricks in his hat." Mr. Stanton did run away with the War Department and at full speed in giving the nation an army of more than a million men.

Stanton gave new life to the War Department; he gave new life to Congress; he gave new life to the North; he gave new life to the war, and he was a living and constant inspiration to President Lincoln; he gave new life to the Navy; he gave new life to the loyal governors; he gave new life to the nation's capital; he gave new life to the loyal people; and he gave new life in the cabinet room. But in that new life he did not cultivate sweetness of temper, nor amiability of character, but rather a character of stern activity having only in view the monster "traitor" slashing at the throat of the nation and a determination to grapple with that monster.

When Mr. Stanton became Secretary, the army was in winter quarters and no fighting in sight or proposed; the city was alive with officers having a good time; and one of the first acts of Mr. Stanton's tyranny was to order these officers to their regiments where they could learn something of war.

His next act was creating the Central Telegraph Office in rooms adjoining his own, and directing that all war telegrams should go through this office, and copies be furnished him. The originals sent and received by the President, the Secretary and various officers I kept in separate volumes, making hundreds of volumes of five hundred pages each. These books are now kept as sacred records in the War Department and tell the history of the mighty rebellion, a great undertaking never before done in the history of war.

It was Mr. Stanton's design to preserve a complete telegraphic record of the war and in this work he

proved himself first among all the men who ever held a like position at any time, in any country. Carbon copies on yellow tissue paper were handed Mr. Stanton direct from the telegraph office and these copies I kept in spring clips such as were then used as clothesline pins, and marked them for each day in the week and Sunday. They were kept on his desk and at the end of each week I took them from the clips to be replaced by others.

This way of keeping the record of all telegrams was for Mr. Stanton's own information, but he also ordered that the originals of all telegrams sent from commanding generals, or from any officer with the armies or in the field, be sent to the War Department by the telegraphers who wired them. To this General Grant later objected and Mr. Stanton then made an order that the original of any telegram which should be withheld by the writer should not be paid for by the government until the original as a voucher was filed in the War Department.

Soon after he became Secretary, one morning, on his way from his home on K Street between Thirteenth and Fourteenth streets, to the War Department, Mr. Stanton stopped to see General McClellan, then commanding all the armies, and whose headquarters were at the corner of the Belasco Theatre Square, where McClellan kept him waiting for an audience, and the Secretary said: "That will be the last time General McClellan will give either myself or the President the waiting snub." In a few days Mr. Stanton ordered the telegraph to be removed from McClellan's headquarters to the War Department, at the same time detaching from his staff his chief operator, then Captain Eckert, who afterwards became president of the Western Union Telegraph Company. In doing this

McClellan complained that Stanton had taken his dispatches, which was not true, but he left the imprint of his coming power.

When Mr. Stanton centered the telegraph office in the War Department it was to control the military news and have it censored, and to prevent it from reaching the enemy, or the press; and he became the only reliable reporter the press had. So perfect was the system that he could talk to the commanders of all the armies throughout the entire battle front from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, and in this particular the telegraph office became very attractive to President Lincoln where he could be comfortable, undisturbed and read the telegrams as they were received. In this way the President could pass from the telegraph office into Mr. Stanton's room and answer any telegram he wished to consult him about and on many occasions Mr. Stanton inspired the answers made by the President.

The safety of this telegraphic record was of great concern to Mr. Stanton and in his conflict with President Johnson for possession of the War Department, Mr. Stanton directed me to get a wagon after office hours and have the boxes in which I kept the volumes under lock, taken to the theatre in which President Lincoln was assassinated and then occupied by the Surgeon General, and store them in the vault and keep the key. Mr. Stanton had then resigned and with his permission, I turned the key over to the Adjutant General with the information of the place of keeping of the telegrams.

The history of the rebellion comprises one hundred and twenty-eight books entitled "War of the Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies," but in all the official reports, correspondence, and telegrams of the Union leaders, the enemy was never re-

ferred to as the "Confederates," but always as "Rebels."

Mr. Stanton never spoke or wrote of those at war against the government, but as rebels and traitors. This is shown when he had been Secretary only a few months in answer to a resolution of Congress in which he said "all will recognize the paramount duty of guarding against any recognition of the enemy otherwise than as rebels and traitors in arms against the government."

When the Federal troops entered Richmond, one of the first orders Mr. Stanton gave was to seize the offices of the rebel government and to secure and send to the department all the papers relating to the rebellion however unintelligible or insignificant, even those bearing the likeness of a cipher, as he had the key that would decipher.

Mr. Stanton's anxiety for the safety of the Richmond War Records arose from the fact that the cipher "key" found on the body of Booth the assassin was identical with that found in the office of the rebel Secretary of State immediately after the fall of Richmond, and Mr. Stanton wanted to connect Jefferson Davis and the four rebel agents in Canada with the assassination of President Lincoln.

Over ninety large boxes of documents of the rebel government were shipped to the War Department, early in May, 1865, and but for collecting and saving the large mass of public papers under Stanton's orders, they would have been destroyed or hopelessly scattered. As it was, a great many that had escaped the conflagration, had been plundered and carried off by relic hunters. Later eighty-one boxes were sent to the War Department, weighing ten tons. Papers were strewn

all over the streets when the Federal forces entered Richmond.

Assistant Secretary Watson left the department some time before the close of the war, and in October, 1866, Mr. Stanton sent me to him at his home in Ash-  
tabula, Ohio, to offer him a position in the department for collecting the archives and preparing a history of the war including his telegraphic history and the Con-  
federate records. Mr. Watson declined, but it resulted finally in the publication of the most extensive war records in the world and of which the mighty secretary was the promoter. His telegraphic record was his only vanity, and well it might be, for no other organizer of armies in all the world ever made such a record.

In the War Department Mr. Stanton's life was one endless round of impatience produced from various causes. The Army of the Potomac was his idol and there never was a time when it did not outnumber Lee's Army; never was an army more completely equipped for war, and the advance of that army for battle was constantly hoped for. It never advanced aggressively for battle under McClellan in the sense that under Grant its battles were always aggressive. The presence in the cabinet of Mr. Blair, a supporter of General McClellan, was another source of constant irritation to Stanton. The disastrous defeats of that army; the constant exposure of the capital to capture by Lee; the dangerous opposition to the war in the loyal states, and especially that of Governor Seymour of New York; the abuse by Greeley, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, all kept him in a condition of a candle burning at both ends. Never was a minister so torn and tormented in his struggles for successful war. His duties in the re-  
ception room were largely distasteful, more particularly because of his quickness and often rough manner.

He created what the nation required—the army to save it, and in this he made an army of enemies, among them every rebel and traitor, every disappointed applicant for office or promotion, every deserter, every copperhead, every grafter, and every patriot who wanted to save the constitution at the expense of the Union; for every man who was not actively for the Union was an enemy in Stanton's eyes.

To few public men in her history does the United States owe more for services that will count through the ages, than it does to Secretary Stanton, for he was the man in power during the war, that, in the estimation of the North at the time, was a guarantee of national security in time of peril. He was the bulwark of confidence to the loyal North and to the Republican party, because every one knew he was intensely for war to save the Union; courageous in denouncing treason, and because all knew his love of country was greater than his love of party. He was the only official of his time that blended wisdom with tyranny, and his intuition was most acute.

No man could be personally popular in dealing heroically with the problems of war, its demands and its miseries, but as the god of war he was mighty and no student of the history of that war can fail to see that he was the controlling power that gave the nation a saving army.

Judge Kelley, member of Congress from Pennsylvania, often called to talk with Mr. Stanton, and in one of these visits he asked the Secretary if he was within the law in organizing a fleet of gunboats to open the Mississippi, to which Mr. Stanton answered, "The law and the authority of the Navy Department does not give me any concern. As the Navy Department does not act and declines to coöperate with the War Depart-

ment, I have no hesitation in creating a War Department Navy." It proved a success. These gunboats took a most important part in opening the Mississippi.

On one occasion Senator Wilson told Mr. Stanton that he seemed to delight in acting with presidential powers, or as Commander of the Army, and as Secretary of the Navy in the capture of Norfolk, and in the destruction of the "Merrimac," to which Mr. Stanton said that he had been trying for some time to get General McClellan to take Norfolk, but he did nothing; that the Navy Department also refused to make such a movement; and that at night he conceived the plan of taking the President with him to Fortress Monroe and make things move by giving orders to Commodore Goldsborough and to General Wool. The result was the capture of Norfolk, the destruction of the "Merrimac," and the opening of the James to Richmond. For these great achievements General McClellan sent Mr. Stanton congratulations, but Mr. Welles, the Secretary of the Navy, took no notice of Stanton's usurpation of the powers of the Navy Department.

When Mr. Stanton arrived on Commodore Goldsborough's flag ship he went to work at once, for he knew what he went there for, and having given orders he sent a telegram to Assistant Secretary Watson that "things are moving now," and when he returned he told Mr. Watson that nothing would have moved so long as the "Merrimac" was there, and that Goldsborough was too old and pompous to fight his ships.

I never knew Mr. Stanton to look for a paper among those on his desk, but would ask me for the letter or papers or telegrams he wanted. These letters and papers I kept in open boxes unfolded and I could at once put my hand upon the letter or paper or telegram he wanted. He rarely answered any personal letters.

His writing was confined to telegrams and in which he seemed to take personal pleasure.

He wore common steel frame eye glasses and for all large writing such as telegrams and endorsements of papers and especially in the reception room he used them, but in writing letters he removed the glasses and wrote neat and small with his head lowered, being near sighted.

Mr. Stanton wore a silk hat; he had no watch. He never carried any money; he did his own marketing and got the money from me, as I drew his salary for him. Twice a week William Dupee, a messenger, and still in that capacity in the War Department, shaved him in his office, shaving the upper lip only. This was not graft, for it was saving valuable time, as Mr. Stanton necessarily gave every minute of his day and night for the government. He never took a vacation. To him the grafter was worse than the traitor. The nearest to graft that I ever knew him to sanction was in calling upon and accepting the professional services of Surgeon General Barnes, who was his family physician; and the only thing of value I ever knew him to take from the government, without paying for it, was medicine for himself and his family on the prescription of Dr. Barnes.

While President Lincoln in everything he did or said was to one purpose, the exercise of power within the scope of the constitution, Mr. Stanton was for saving the Union whether the constitution was saved or not, since war with him could brook no hampering or limiting bounds, and as he said, to save the constitution at the expense of the Union, would only result in destroying both.

Lincoln, after years of achievement, character, nobility, of courage, of kindness, years of expressionless

sorrow and the reward martyrdom, a man who won the admiration of the angels, crowned with the world's applause, was sensible in the majesty of these combined attributes and showed that he had the wisdom to tolerate his war secretary, whose attributes were tyrannical, dominating, imperious, impetuous, great in will power, bending men by his masterful passion to his own purpose, in energy sleepless; Stanton, with his faults, impatient, cold, harsh, tyrannical, antagonistic and severe in judgment loomed proudly among the important men of his day in his exercise of power, and in carrying aloft the jewel of patriotism.

For an hour's rest he would often lock himself in his room, and lying upon a sofa read the English magazines, particularly Littell's *Living Age*. All these magazines were partisans of the South and it was for this reason that he read them, for he wanted to know the views England took of the rebellion. Without an exception the predictions therein were that the Union would not be preserved; that the peace of Europe would be safer with the Union divided into two or three or even more republics on the North American continent.

A prophecy by Bulwer Lytton that soon there would be "not two but four separate and sovereign commonwealths arising out of the United States which would have their separate presidents and each carry its merchandise under a separate flag," particularly attracted his attention, and he spoke of it in connection with Lee as the most dangerous enemy of the United States.

For interfering with General McClellan, as commander of the Army of the Potomac, Mr. Stanton was denounced and held responsible by the Democratic party for the defeats of that army. If there was any one thing during the war that Mr. Stanton feared it

was the capture of the nation's capital, and he was alert in all the movements of McClellan's Army to see that Washington was safe. In taking the army to the Peninsula McClellan did leave Washington without adequate protection, and a commission of army officers so declared, and Mr. Stanton saw that an adequate army was retained here for its safety.

When that army, after its defeat, was brought back from the Peninsula and again put in command of McClellan, in his movements to meet Lee at the battle of Antietam, General Halleck, then in command of Washington, found it necessary to caution McClellan that he was uncovering Washington, and finally McClellan answered that if the city should be captured he could retake it. Only think of the commander of that great army that had the sole care and protection of the nation's capital, treating the life of the nation with such unsoldierly contempt. Had Washington been captured by Lee there would not have been left much of the United States. In the Peninsula campaign McClellan wanted the troops which were held for the protection of Washington, and in the Maryland campaign he wanted the troops that were retained; and it is a fact that of all the commanders of that grand army McClellan was the only one who denounced and hated the whole "crew" ruling at Washington; and if ever a war minister was right in interfering with and watching the commanding generals of his armies it was in the case of General McClellan.

In his Peninsula defeat he sent a telegram to Mr. Stanton giving details of his defeat and stating that he was not responsible and said: "You have done your best to sacrifice this army." He no doubt thought that this malicious charge against Mr. Stanton would

produce a great commotion in the country and be sustained by his party that had declared the war a failure. But he was disappointed in his wish and hope in the effect of this charge, because it was suppressed by the telegraph censor of the War Department, who said the statement was false and that General McClellan could not use him to gratify his malice against Mr. Stanton. The telegram was mutilated by the censor, General Sanford, and was re-copied, eliminating the charge, and handed to Mr. Stanton, who I think never knew of this mutilation.

Several days after this, General Marcey, father-in-law of McClellan and his chief-of-staff, came direct from McClellan with a startling ultimatum that unless his army was strongly reinforced at once, he would have to surrender to Lee. Mr. Stanton was so stunned that he only answered that "reinforcements had been ordered from the west, and that everything would be done to save the army." McClellan's threat had left its sting and the fear of the loss of the capital had determined Mr. Stanton and General Halleck to bring that army back to Washington. The problem was to get it here before Lee could get this, and Mr. Stanton spent nearly two months of dread in the War Department and brooded over the impending danger to the national capital, which Lee could have easily taken after his defeat of Pope's army, if he had known the conditions.

During the Peninsula campaign, the army left for the protection of the capital was divided and under separate commanders and the rebel General Jackson defeated them piecemeal. These defeats were laid on Mr. Stanton by General McClellan and his partisans and their charges were keenly felt by him although he knew them to be false.

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When Early came near entering Washington at Fort Stevens President Lincoln went out there and witnessed the battle, and I have read that Secretary Stanton was also there, but he was not. On the contrary, when he found that Lincoln had been there and in a position as a mark for the rebel sharpshooters Mr. Stanton said: "He seems to have lost all sense of his duty to the nation in placing himself as a target for the enemy and especially at a time of the greatest danger to the city and when preparations had been made for his flight in the event of its capture."

On that occasion Mr. Stanton was really apprehending the capture of the city and was walking his office in dread while Early, having defeated Wallace at the Monocacy, was marching upon the defenceless city, which for the first time during the war was entirely without defenders, and all because neither Mr. Stanton nor the President wished to interfere with General Grant's plans.

At this crisis the Secretary made a great mistake in not interfering with General Grant, and while himself sensible of the danger he never sent a telegram to Grant about it. He did not want to raise the old McClellan cry of interference; and it is a most singular fact that Grant himself admitted that by his delay in sending troops Early came very near getting into the city.

Weary of the disasters that pursued the army under Generals McClellan, Pope and Burnside, and longing for a commander that would lead and fight that great army to victory, Mr. Stanton saw that victorious commander with the western army, and he summoned General Grant to Washington to receive his commission as lieutenant general. After the ceremony was over at the White House, General Grant, at the request of Mr. Stanton, went at once to the War Department.

On the day Grant left the West for Washington he wrote Sherman that he would return to his command in ten or twelve days; and in his "Memoirs" he states that it was his intention before coming to Washington to remain in the West, but found it impossible to resist the pressure brought to bear upon him, to adhere to his own plans. That pressure was Stanton's deliverance to Grant in his call at the War Department. Grant came in soon after Mr. Stanton's return from the White House, and without a word from Grant when he came Stanton said that he had hurried him to Washington because the President and himself had felt the need of his presence with the Army of the Potomac on which the government was then depending with seeming little hope of a change from merely fighting battles with Lee; that Lee's army was a constant source of anxiety; that several times the army had narrowly escaped destruction; that he looked upon Lee as the greatest power of the South; that there was not a day that he felt entirely safe from raids from Lee's army; that while the Army of the Potomac had fought many bloody battles, it had gained nothing beyond saving the government; that so long as Lee had an army he would be the power of the rebellion; that the chief army of the government had been fighting defensively from the beginning almost on the same ground; and that it was an imperative necessity that Lee should be fought constantly and aggressively. He said Washington was then as it had always been, the center of the war and he wanted him to see for himself the necessity of having his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac and that he would use all the power of the nation to give him the men to crush Lee.

The impressively earnest manner of Mr. Stanton and the profoundly thoughtful manner of Grant was the beginning of the end of the war and was all the result

of the great brain of Stanton who had become almost exhausted of his hope in the success of his mightiest army. The only answer Grant made was that he "would go to Meade in the morning and would immediately return, go west and put the armies under commanders and come back." The next morning Senator Wilson came and to a question if Grant intended to fight Meade's army, Mr. Stanton said "Yes," and that when the fighting again commenced it would be kept up until the end. After his first battle with Lee, who had for years defied the greatest army in the world, Stanton said: "Grant has come to stay."

While the commission presentation ceremonies were taking place at the White House, Sherman, from the West, wrote to Grant: "Don't stay in Washington. Come west; here lies the seat of the coming empire. For God's sake and for the country's sake, come out of Washington. It is the center of intrigue." Yet Sherman knew that the Army of the Potomac wanted a fighting leader and had it not got Grant, Sherman's empire of the West would have been a fiction. Stanton's magnificent and mighty army had for the first time a mighty leader, who at the end said of it "that it was as good an army as ever fought a battle."

The Army of the Potomac gave the Secretary more concern and made him more fretful than anything else while it was commanded by McClellan, but under Grant as its commander, Stanton became a different person. With Grant's persistent fighting Stanton had lost his fretfulness and impatience. But when in May, 1864, after General Grant had been fighting Lee for eight days, he sent a telegram to General Halleck that there had been "five days rain, and that all offensive operations must cease until twenty-four hours of dry weather and to assure the Secretary of War that the elements

alone have suspended hostilities," Mr. Stanton speaking of this telegram to persons in his room said: "In all the telegrams from McClellan he never sent one ringing with eagerness to fight like this." That is what he knew he would get when he told Grant the Army of the Potomac was waiting for him.

Mr. Stanton knew that forty thousand union prisoners were dying of the horrors, exposure, suffering, murder and starvation, and at an appalling rate at Andersonville, at Salisbury, at Libby Prison, and at Belle Isle; and he bore in silence and torture the charge and fierce denunciations hurled at him by the northern press as a brute for stopping the exchange of prisoners, when in fact it was General Grant who protested against the exchange, giving as a reason that to liberate forty thousand strong, healthy and well-clothed rebels would only be to return them to the ranks to battle against himself and Sherman, their paroles not being respected at Richmond; while from our returned prisoners scarcely a single man was fit for fighting, all being skeletons, sick and feeble. Forty thousand patriots must starve and die in torture in the rebel prisons, as no sea of blood, no waste of treasure, no suffering of prisoners could stand in the way of crushing the rebellion.

Stanton's broad shoulders bore the scorching lash of public condemnation of his supposed brutal conduct toward those forty thousand slowly tortured prisoners; while General Grant with equal silence never took the public in his confidence to explain that the forty thousand rebel prisoners, which he captured and paroled at Vicksburg and the fifteen thousand captured by Banks at Port Hudson and paroled, were again forced into the rebel army; and thereby to make light the

heart of Mr. Stanton, the one man on whom the loyal North leaned to save the Union.

In the reception room representatives and senators came with complaints or requests from their constituents serving in the army or lying in the hospitals and the Secretary hearing what each had to say would in cases of merit take a long white official envelope on which he would write the name of the applicant and the order in the case. He had nothing on his desk but these envelopes and pen and ink; and an attending orderly stood near to take his orders. When he entered President Lincoln's cabinet he was in the prime of life, when he left President Johnson's cabinet he was a wreck, not so much the result of his ceaseless energy in the storm period of the war, as from his ceaseless watching of the doings at the White House under President Johnson.

In the reception room Mr. Stanton showed his knowledge of the laws which bore upon matters presented to him; and his instant grasp of a situation after a few words of explanation.

Representative Thad. Stevens of Pennsylvania wanted a certain thing done, when Mr. Stanton quickly said: "The law makes no provision for it," to which Mr. Stevens, hesitating as if hurt, said he would look at the law.

A committee of residents opposed to the war, and then known in politics as copperheads, came into the reception room in behalf of Mrs. Surratt sentenced to be hanged for the assassination of President Lincoln, and among them the Secretary noted an officer of the army wearing a surgeon's uniform, and this so aroused his anger that, looking at the surgeon he said: "You had better take off those epaulets; they are not an honor to you on this occasion." The spokesman of the

committee stated that they had come on a mission of mercy on behalf of Mrs. Surratt, to which Mr. Stanton answered that he could do nothing, that the President was the power in such matters.

In a matter Senator Trumbull was presenting to the Secretary the two became excited and by accidental movement of the Senator's trembling hand in removing papers from the high table, he knocked the ink stand off, ruining a new green carpet. This incident ended the business and Mr. Stanton went at once to his room. He afterwards sent an apology to the Senator, but the latter never again came to see the Secretary.

Before the victory of General Thomas at the great battle of Nashville, it was a source of much concern to Stanton, Halleck and Grant, that Thomas would not move after repeated orders to do so, and for which one of his excuses was that he was waiting until Wilson was ready with his cavalry, when Mr. Stanton in a telegram to Grant said: "If Thomas waits for Wilson, Gabriel will blow his last horn."

General Stoneman had a large cavalry command but had not been very satisfactory to the Secretary in his achievements with his force. The Secretary called him to the department for a talk. His face was thin and he looked as if he needed rest, and sleep and medicine.

While sitting in the Secretary's communicating room waiting to see him he fell to the floor in a faint, and Surgeon General Barnes who was also waiting, laid him on the floor and bathed his face. Mr. Stanton came and told him to go and take some rest and General Barnes would attend him. If Mr. Stanton had intended any harsh arraignment of the General, he was softened by the fainting and said that he would see him when he was better.

In the War Department Mr. Stanton was omnipotent.

He was the autocrat of the nation and the people and the army knew, felt and approved it; and in the midst of all sorts of lying, persistent and ignorant denunciation from all sorts and kinds of enemies, he said: "There can be no greater madness for a man to encounter what I do for anything else than motives that overlap time and look forward to eternity."

In characterizing Mr. Stanton as a tyrant I do not mean that he was a tyrant in the sense that Nero was in playing the fiddle while Rome was burning, but like Alexander, who caused the destruction by fire of the great city of Moscow to effect the destruction of Napoleon's army which was marching for its capture.

Stanton's tyranny aimed to destroy every power and defeat every purpose, and oppose anything which, as he saw it, would disrupt the union, or reconstruct it upon a basis that would be cause of endless trouble in dealing with the people who wanted to secede from the union.

It was his genius that kept the vast army in condition for battle and that rescued the nation from a rebellion the most gigantic and the most atrocious since the fall of the angels.

Mr. Stanton was a new figure in history and of all the administrations of all the presidents, history presents no example of an entire administration more completely dominated by one cabinet member. It was war time. That Stanton dominated everything is fully proved by the hostility of every member of the cabinet —except Mr. Chase; and there is proof all along the line in the War Department to sustain Lincoln in what he said that Stanton was "running the machine." Who else was running it and what would Lincoln or any of the other members of his cabinet have amounted to if the war office had failed. There were many things Mr.

Stanton did, as the stoker, the engineer, and the very fuel of the administration, that the cabinet knew was reason for his dismissal, yet not one would have dared to have deposed him. Lincoln knew all the tyranny of Mr. Stanton, but even he would not have dared to dismiss him, nor was there any time that he even winked in that direction. Lincoln wanted to be president of a saved country, and the human battleax in the old wooden war office, that never for a moment ceased cleaving at the rebellion, was the very instrumentality that he wanted there; and he relied on his cleaving power, and even declined to accept Mr. Stanton's resignation when Lee surrendered. Stanton represented the policy which saved the union in the cabinets of three presidents and he was the executive arm that Congress wanted to prevent being overthrown by the third President. If there is anything that the history of the war period shows, it is that Stanton was the colossus of the period.

For maintaining the discipline of the army Mr. Stanton seemed to be master of every law; with him the war for the preservation of the United States was sacred and above all law and above the constitution on which the government was founded. Personal rights and justice were as nothing to him in his efforts to use the might and power of the nation for crushing the great rebellion. With him the rebellion was a giant of mighty power and no one had a right to invoke the constitution or the laws of the United States to add power to that rebellion, and to deny the right of the government and the nation for self preservation. In his love of country he characterized the leaders of the rebellion as "traitors" engaged in war for the destruction of the United States. If he was wrong in this then Lincoln, the ruler of men and the saviour of his country, was

wrong when, in writing of his efforts by war, to save the country from ruin said of the most powerful leaders then in arms to destroy the United States, that General Robert E. Lee, General Joseph E. Johnston, General John C. Breckenridge, General John B. Magruder, General Simon B. Buckner, General William B. Preston and Commodore Franklin Buchanan, then occupying the very highest places in the rebel war service, were all serving the United States before the rebellion began, and were nearly as well known to be traitors then as now.

Stanton in all his writings and speeches called those engaged in war against the United States "rebels" and "traitors" and never "Confederates," nor can it be found in all the writings and speeches of that marvel of greatness, Lincoln, that he ever used any other word for those in rebellion than "rebels" and "traitors" and "insurgents." This is the language of Grant, and yet Stanton is the only person on whom abuse and hatred are heaped for calling things by their proper names.

He was quick to promote for bravery without waiting the usual recommendation of superior officers as he did on his way back from Savannah (where he went by sea to see General Sherman) and reaching Fort Fisher soon after its capture promoted every officer whom he found had displayed conspicuous gallantry in its capture.

General Schenck left Congress to enter the army and fell wounded at the head of his troops at the second Bull Run and lay sick at Willard's Hotel. Mr. Stanton sent him by me an appointment as major general with a letter expressing the pleasure it gave him in making the promotion as a just tribute to his ability and patriotism to his country. All such promotions were

in the volunteer service and he only wanted the proof of such patriotism, which he said to Senator Wilson, then chairman of the Military Committee of the Senate, was supposed to be lost at West Point.

Except in the appointment of Mr. Wolcott, his brother-in-law, as Assistant Secretary of War, Mr. Stanton did not appoint a relative to office. His son coming from Kenyon College without money acted for a time without pay as clerk to Assistant Secretary Eckert and was finally given an appointment by him.

I knew all Mr. Stanton's immediate compatriots of that time, and since have read of some of them, but no man in all the broad land at that time was his equal in executive power and in vigilance; none more preëminent in the field of statesmanship; and as a war organizer, history does not record his equal in dealing with the problems of war on a battlefield of three thousand miles in extent, and in the dangers of peace. In the dark hours he was the anchor which held fast the destiny of the republic. Stanton was the lawgiver in the cabinets of Buchanan, Lincoln and Johnson, and it was only in the last cabinet that his legal brain made him unwelcome, because his voice was for the conqueror in the war and for Congress as the representative of the conqueror as against President Johnson who turned against both on the great problems of reconstruction.

Grant very seldom came to see Mr. Stanton after the close of the war and Mr. Stanton would sometimes send Madison, the colored messenger, for him saying: "Go tell General Grant to come over here"—the headquarters of the army being across the street. This not very polite message to the man to whom the nation was then paying homage, became known to Grant's staff and all the members disliked Mr. Stanton, and particu-

larly General Badeau, who was the most prominent of the staff.

Mr. Stanton has sent me with a similar message to Secretaries Seward and Chase, and while I delivered a polite request I could see slight indication that they did not like it, but never was there any hesitation in coming.

In all this roughness there was not the least disrespect meant, for very much in the same way Mr. Stanton summoned President Lincoln at night from Soldiers' Home, to a cabinet meeting in the War Department to determine the sending of troops from the Army of the Potomac then on the Rapidan in Virginia, to save the Army of the West after the defeat of General Rosecrans. In this crisis Mr. Stanton played a mighty part and showed in him intense patriotism and power which commanded the admiration of the loyal people of the Nation.

It is related of the President that when an officer told him that he had acted in an emergency without the President's orders, but under the advice of the Secretary of War, Mr. Lincoln shook him cordially by the hand and said: "Hereafter, Major, when you have Mr. Stanton's sanction in any matter, you have mine, for so great is my confidence in his judgment and patriotism, that I never wish to take an important step myself without first consulting him."

The telegraph office and the rooms of the Secretary were communicating and Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Stanton often met in the telegraph office. Lincoln loved the company of General Eckert and his three cipher operators and they tell interesting incidents which show the relation of these two great opposite characters. On one occasion Mr. Stanton on entering the room was addressed by the President as "Mars," of which, as a

playful allusion to his official capacity, he took no notice.

On another occasion Lincoln himself told Mr. Stanton how a man to whom he gave a card to the Secretary presenting it to him with the story of his great loss in cotton by Mr. Stanton's orders forbidding buying up cotton in the border states for raising money for the South, and coming back to him, "Mr. President," said he, "what do you think Stanton did with your card?" "I don't know," said Lincoln, "Tell me." "He tore it up and threw it in the waste basket. He is not a fit man to be your Secretary of War."

"Did he do that," replied Lincoln; "well that is just like Stanton."

The President gave Mr. Stanton an account of this incident with much enjoyment and without the slightest show of taking exception to Stanton's treatment of his introduction card, and it shows the opposite character of these two great men the one, Lincoln, having a heart greater than his head—the other, Stanton, having a head greater than his heart.

In these incidents of the dominating character of these two great men it must not be understood that Stanton carried his sternness beyond a sense of duty. It was war, and to him kindness and tenderness would not help the army in battle, yet Stanton often seized occasion to soften the miseries of war.

It was only in the cabinet of Lincoln where Stanton commanded the homage of the President; yet in that cabinet he was both feared and disliked by reason of his aggressive and towering conduct toward and over all around him. In his gift to the nation of the million army, Stanton was the rock on which the new nation builded and which he almost alone held in place by his mighty grasp. For over three years of peril when the

artillery of Lee thundered almost in hearing of the White House, Stanton carried the government on his broad shoulders.

The particular phase of the domination which Mr. Stanton exercised over President Lincoln is best illustrated in the incident which caused Mr. Stanton to revoke Mr. Lincoln's permit for the assembling of the Virginia Legislature after the fall of Richmond. This incident resulted from a serious conference between Mr. Stanton and the President in the Secretary's room on the afternoon of April 12, 1865, about the permit the President had given Judge Campbell, through General Weitzel in command at Richmond, and which Judge Campbell, a member of that legislature, understood to be for the assembling of the rightful legislature of the state to settle all differences with the United States, and to withdraw the Virginia troops from resistance to the general government. In return for such permit the President promised a specific equivalent, to wit, a remission to the people of the rebel states, except in certain cases, of the confiscation of their property.

The President, after Stanton's explanation, seeing his mistake wrote a telegram to General Weitzel explaining that he had given no permit for the assembling "of the rightful legislature" and to withdraw his letter and the paper he gave Judge Campbell, or to countermand them.

Having written the telegram he read it to Mr. Stanton, who saying it was not sufficient clinched the whole matter and wiped out the power of that great state in the words which the President added to his telegram. "Do not allow them to assemble, but if any have come allow them safe return to their homes." This was the last telegram the President wrote in the War Department and on a subject of the last importance to the

nation; a subject that should have been  
the full cabinet, but which was de-  
master brain of Stanton in which  
net was not his peer; and the Pre-  
the domination of Mr. Stanton. No  
the cabinet could have dominated  
matter on which his heart was set.  
State of Virginia in the Union. G:  
was in this matter his War Secret  
so it was all along the lines of  
greatest questions with which en  
controlling power.

Mr. Stanton's view of the  
the Virginia Legislature was  
the conditions which Presiden  
Peace Commissioners at Hoo  
1865, when he told them that  
be governed as independent  
have representation in Con  
could promise nothing by  
Congress after their ad  
These were the terms at  
the Johnson cabinet  
Seward voting to re  
terms with President

Two members of  
ment for the son of  
who endorsed the  
Secretary of War  
was presented to  
President wish-  
in refusing to  
comply with the  
refusal being  
“Gentlemen,

Mr. Stanton's troubles. His position is one of the most difficult. Thousands in the army blame him because they are not promoted and other thousands out of the army blame him because they are not appointed. The pressure upon him is immeasurable and unending. He is the rock on the beach of our national ocean against which the breakers dash and roar, dash and roar without ceasing. He fights back the angry waters and prevents them from undermining and overwhelming the land. Gentlemen, I do not see how he survives, why he is not crushed and torn to pieces. Without him I should be destroyed. He performs his task super-humanly. Now, do not mind this matter, for Mr. Stanton is right and I cannot wrongly interfere with him." Only think of such uplifting words from him whose fame in history surpasses every hero—military or civil of his time in the love and admiration of the nation. He who was the giant personality of his age, the statesman of his day; he who held the destiny of the nation in his hand.

Stern as the Secretary was he loved Lincoln, and in the last moment of that marvel of greatness and goodness Stanton bent over him in grief and sorrow, his head resting on his left hand, and as the soul of this now tenderest memory of the nation passed into eternity, said of him: "He now belongs to the ages."

## THE STORY OF KALORAMA.\*

BY MRS. CORRA BACON-FOSTER.

(Read before the Society, April 13, 1909.)

Our theme tonight is of a famous old home in the District of which only the melody of the name lingers.

The governments of France and Germany have recently acquired portions of beautiful Kalorama Heights; doubtless two elegant foreign mansions will be added to the number of handsome residences that have given to this vicinity the distinction of being the palace end of town.

This is hardly a new experience for Kalorama; the few grand old oaks that have been spared by the ruthless, leveling work of army and civilian engineers doubtless congratulate themselves upon the return of the old days of social supremacy, when the belles and beaux of a century ago sauntered along the shaded walks, and haughty diplomats sought secluded arbors for discussion of the latest news from the war in Europe or the discomforts of life in Washington.

This charming property, still shown on city maps by faint, dotted lines, was a portion of the large Holmead estate and known as "Rock Hill." The original residence was built about 1750—it is claimed of English brick!—it is also claimed that the bill of lading therefor is among the title papers! So generously

\* In the preparation of this paper I have drawn largely upon the "Life and Letters of Joel Barlow," by Charles Burr Todd, and contemporary writings.

I wish also to express my gratitude for the assistance so generously and courteously given me by members of the families so long associated with the life of Kalorama.

were these *imported brick* used that the walls were of thickness and strength to withstand fire and tempest for one hundred and fifty years.

In 1794 the house with about forty acres was bought and occupied by Gustavus Scott from Dorchester County, Maryland. He had been a prominent lawyer there and a politician. He was one of the original promoters of the Potomac Company scheme for improvement of the river navigation—held eleven shares of the stock; he secured the passage of a bill in the Maryland Legislature for monopoly in steam navigation in the state to James Rumsey; he was a heavy investor in “Federal City” lots; he was appointed one of the early commissioners of the District and was made superintendent of public works; when Maryland made her third loan to the impecunious national government, his was one of the three personal endorsements required upon the bonds. President Washington wrote to Tobias Lear from Philadelphia, August 28, 1794: “ . . . Mr. Scott (at present of Baltimore) a gentleman eminent in the profession of law, a man of character & fortune, & one who has the welfare of the New City much at heart—has been applied to & accepted the appointed trust (as commissioner).” It was doubtless in compliance with the President’s request that he should reside in the District that he secured the Rock Hill residence.

He seems to have inherited some of his ancestral Scotch thrift, as he used the rejected keystone of the new K Street bridge for a kitchen door step on which for many years his name was perpetuated in an inscription—gradually vanishing under the tread of many feet.

In the Scott home hospitality held full sway—it was

one of the fine country places frequented by the George Town gentry.

Gustavus Scott was the grandfather of Admiral Gustavus Hall Scott, long a resident of Washington, and a relative of Mrs. Richard Townsend.

His patriotic investments were evidently unfortunate ones for him, as we learn from a letter addressed to Joel Barlow in Paris by President Jefferson, dated May 3, 1802, in which Barlow is urged to return to America; ". . . There is a most lovely seat adjoining this city—on a high hill, commanding a most extensive view of the Potomac—now for sale. A superb house, gardens, etc., with thirty or forty acres of ground. It will be sold under circumstances of distress, and will probably go for the half of what it has cost. It was built by Gustavus Scott, who is dead—a bankrupt."

It was however then bought by William Augustine Washington who remodeled the old mansion and added the handsome east wing containing the drawing rooms and banquet hall—without which no mansion of the time was complete. This owner greatly enlarged the former social circle which now embraced Alexandria and nearby Virginia plantations. But Washington was thrifty too and accepted Joel Barlow's liberal offer of \$14,000 for the place in 1807.

So about one hundred years ago workmen again appeared upon the scene and under the direction of the new owner with many suggestions from Robert Fulton and architect Latrobe carpenters and brick-masons were soon tearing away and remodeling; walks and drives were cut and leveled. With considerable ceremony one day in March there was a notable planting of two English elms by Barlow and Fulton; these trees attained great size and were only recently sacrificed to the lower grade of Twenty-third Street. President Jefferson

rode out frequently and gave much advice on the subjects of fruit culture and gardening, in which he considered himself adept.

Often it was observed Mr. Barlow and the younger Fulton would spend a morning on the bank of the bordering Rock Creek. Tradition says that the model of the first successful steamboat, the "Clermont," was here perfected—Fulton using the small model engine he had brought from London.

The pretty Greek lodge at the entrance gate was designed by Latrobe from an Ionian temple, the summer house on the brow of the hill (the present intersection of Twenty-fourth and U Streets) by Fulton.

In March, 1807, the day after the adjournment of Congress, died Senator Abraham Baldwin, the eldest brother of Mrs. Barlow and a life-long friend of her husband. His remains were the first to repose in the Kalorama tomb; the first interment had been in Rock Creek Church yard beside his colleague General Jackson of Georgia. Baldwin had been a member of the national Constitutional Convention whose vote for the opposition on equal representation of states held the convention from going to pieces before having accomplished its purpose. It is claimed that the original draft of the United States Constitution was found among his papers.

In the summer of 1807 Fulton went to New York to superintend the construction of his steamboat; in August a letter was received from him with the tidings of the success of the trial trip to Albany. A pretty incident of this trial trip was the announcement en route of his engagement to the beautiful and charming cousin of his patron, Chancellor Livingston.

When the improvements on the place had been completed the impatient owners furnished the mansion in

the simple and formal taste of the period, placed the rare bric-a-brac and paintings brought from the Paris home and installed the library—probably the finest collection of literature then in America. To the house-warming in the winter probably went President Jefferson, Secretary of State Madison and his ever-charming wife, the French minister General Turreau, resplendent as became a Marshal of the First Empire, the amiable Erskine from Great Britain with his wife, née Fanny Cadwallader of Philadelphia, the Secretary of the Treasury and Mrs. Gallatin, Capt. Thomas Law with a poem for the happy occasion, Mr. and Mrs. Smith, who unfortunately for us did not report the toasts and costumes for the next issue of the *Intelligencer*, Gen. and Mrs. Van Ness, Gen. and Mrs. Mason from the "Island," Capt. and Mrs. Tingey from the Navy Yard, Dr. and Mrs. Thornton—in fact all the fashion of George Town and Washington—the army and navy officers in full uniform, the justices and congressmen—probably though some of the Federalists may have held aloof as Joel Barlow was chief among Republicans; today we cannot understand the rigidity of party lines during the Jefferson and Madison administrations, when polities divided even society into hostile camps; but it was a notable entertainment and long remembered.

At the solicitation of President Jefferson Joel Barlow, the most famous American in Europe, an adopted citizen of republican France—an honor shared only by Washington and Hamilton—"Poet, Statesman and Philosopher"—had returned to America to write a history of the United States from contemporary sources and in sympathy with the policy of the Republican party, he and his amiable, brilliant wife came to make a home once more among their countrymen.

Let us quote from a letter written by Thomas Jefferson:

"WASHINGTON, May 3, 1802.—To Joel Barlow in Paris;—

"*Dear Sir;*—Mr. Madison and myself have cut out a piece of work for you, which is to write the history of the United States from the close of the war downward. We are rich ourselves in materials and can open all the public archives to you, but your residence here is essential, because a great deal of the knowledge of things is not on paper, but only within ourselves for verbal communication.

"John Marshall is writing a life of General Washington from his papers. It is intended to come out just in time to influence the next presidential election. It is written therefore principally with a view to electioneering purposes. But it will consequently be out in time to aid you with information, as well as to point out perversions of truth necessary to be rectified.

"Think of this and agree to it, and be assured of my high esteem and attachment."

To few men have been granted the ability and privilege to accomplish more for their countrymen than to Joel Barlow; unfortunately the party he served left his memorials to the writers of the opposition and there have been no descendants to right the injustice done his record. Born in the puritanic atmosphere of Connecticut in the day of extreme prejudices—a chaplain in the Revolutionary army—the authorized reviser of "Watt's Hymns," in Paris he became the friend, admirer and translator of Volney; a writer of poetic squibs and editor of a Yankee newspaper—one of the "Hartford wits," in Europe his political writings in favor of the French Revolution brought him immense renown in both England and France; an unwitting agent of the unfortunate Scioto Land Company's scheme—he became minister of the United States to

France and special envoy to settle difficulties in Algiers, where at great personal risk by skilful diplomacy he secured a treaty and the release of more than one hundred American sailors held in captivity by the Dey of the country. By sagacious business investments he had amassed quite a respectable fortune in France and was thus enabled to assist many men of genius, one among the number being Robert Fulton to whom he gave a home during his seven years' residence in Paris, lavishing upon his "much inventing and life endearing toot" a father's affection. To Fulton he dedicated and gave his life work—the epic poem, "Columbiad." Fulton in turn painted for it the portrait for frontispiece under which he inscribed:—

"The warrior's name,  
Tho' pealed and chimed on all the tongues of fame,  
Sounds less harmonious to the grateful mind  
Than his who fashions and improves mankind."

He also supervised the elegant illustrations made in London by Smirke and engraved by masters of the art. The work when produced in Philadelphia in 1807 was the finest example of typographical art, that had been produced in America; it made a sensation but has been all but forgotten; of Barlow's writings, political and poetical, he is only remembered by his merry "Hasty Pudding."

Classic nomenclature was all the vogue at that time, so after some deliberation the place was called "Kalorama" (spelt with a "C")—"Fine View." It at once became and for more than a century continued to be the resort of all that was choicest in American society and the Mecca of foreign travellers and visitors. Seldom were the guest chambers unoccupied.

The early years of the nineteenth century were trying ones for the new Democratic-Republican policy of

peaceful neutrality, when "England seemed to have become a den of pirates and France a nest of thieves"; the Chesapeake outrage was in every mind and on every tongue, but without army or navy to enforce respect what could be done? Many and long were the councils around the library fire or on the veranda at Kalorama when President, Secretary of State and host wrestled with the knotty international problems, often with the sympathetic British envoy, Erskine, or the sarcastic Minister of the most incomprehensible French Emperor, present. It is safe to assert that no political issue of that time was ever decided without the expressed opinion of Joel Barlow, whose long residence abroad had familiarized him with French and English conditions. It has however been surmised that Jefferson's favorite "Embargo Act" never met his unqualified approval.

In the intervals of political discussion Jefferson and Barlow made plans for a national university to be located in the nation's capital city; the bill therefor was presented to Congress, but died in a committee room. Mrs. Barlow—a fine woman, amiable, piquant and cultured—was more generally attractive than her reserved, dignified husband; the ladies admired her tasteful gowns and turbans, and sought her society. No entertainments could compare with hers.

Four busy years passed quickly, the "History of the United States" was progressing finely, the home life was supremely happy, Fulton's steamboats were running on regular schedules up the Hudson. But the national outlook was terribly foreboding, between enemies abroad and at home the ship of state seemed about to founder in the tempest. Our minister to France had quitted his post in the fall of 1810, Barlow was the one American to undertake a mission to Napo-

leon to endeavor to induce him to, in fact as well as in words, set aside his obnoxious decrees so destructive to all commerce on the open seas, consent to American commercial intercourse and release the merchant ships held in French, Spanish and Dutch ports. With extreme reluctance he accepted the appointment and after some delays sailed with his family on the frigate "Constitution" in August, 1811.

Kalorama was then leased to the accomplished Serurier, the new minister from France, a favorite in society circles. We may presume the hospitable life continued. Mrs. Madison wrote Mrs. Barlow in November: "The French minister, M. Serurier, is still delighted with Kalorama and takes much pleasure in beautifying the grounds."

Barlow did not return but sacrificed his life in his country's service, dying from exposure Christmas Eve, 1812, while following Napoleon over the frozen wastes of Poland. In 1813 the bereaved wife returned to America to live in dignified retirement at Kalorama till her death five years later. In the *National Intelligencer* of June 2, 1818, we find this tribute:

"Died, aged 62 on the eve of the 29th. of May, Mrs. Barlow, relict of the late Joel Barlow, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of France. Mrs. Barlow was a native of Connecticut. Those uncommon talents which she and the family of Baldwin possessed were highly cultivated during a long residence with her husband in various countries of Europe. Since the death of her husband she resided at his favorite seat and exerted herself in doing good to all around her. She sustained with dignity, patience and serenity her last, long sickness. Her remains, attended by the heads of departments, foreign ministers and numerous friends were on Monday placed in the family mausoleum at Kalorama."

That the home was soon dismantled we learn from this advertisement in the *Intelligencer* for October 13:

"Elegant furniture at public sale;—Will be offered for sale at Kalorama a great variety of household furniture, consisting of mahogany sideboard, dining, breakfast and tea tables, sofas, and chairs, bureaux, secretaries, prints and paintings, etc."

President Monroe attended the sale and furnished Mrs. Hays' room with the purchases there made, paying about \$600 for the articles.

Probably Mrs. Barlow erected the tomb in a beautiful grove, at what is now the intersection of Massachusetts and Florida Avenues, which remained there until 1892. As remembered by many citizens it bore the following inscriptions:—

Sacred to the Repose of the Dead And the Meditation of the Living		
Joel Barlow		George Bomford
Patriot, Poet, and Philosopher.	Colonel of the Ordnance of the	
Lies Buried in Zarniwica	United States	
Poland Where He Died	Died 25th March 1848	
24th Dec. 1812	Aet 66 Years	
Aet, 53 Years 9 Months		
		Henry Baldwin Bomford His Son
Ruth Baldwin Barlow His Wife	Sept 9th 1848	
Died 29th May 1818		
Aet 62 Years		
Abraham Baldwin Her Brother		Henry Baldwin
Died a Senator in Congress		Associate Justice of the
From Georgia		Supreme Court
4th March 1807 Aet 52 Years		Of the United States
His Memory Needs No Marble		Died April 21st 1844
His Country is His Monument		Aet 64 Years
Her Constitution His Greatest		
Work		

Mrs. Barlow's family had consisted of her younger sister, Clara, who became the wife of George Bomford,

an officer of great distinction in the ordnance division of the United States army, and Tom Barlow, a nephew and ward who had married and brought home from Paris a young French wife. Mrs. Bomford had been quite a belle in society. Mrs. Crowninshield thus described her appearance at Mrs. Madison's New Year's reception 1816:

"Miss Baldwin, a sister of Mrs. Barlow, was dressed, first in a pretty white gown, high and much ruffled,—the ruffles worked, which is considered handsomer than lace—and over it a scarlet merino dress made short above the ruffles of her gown, crossed before and behind about the waist and short sleeves; it looked very tasty, trimmed with merino trimming and fringe. A black velvet hat, turned up in front with a large bunch of black feathers."

Soon after occurred her marriage to the handsome colonel, a widower with four children.

About 1818, Mrs. Wilson, who had been the wife of Theobald Wolfe Tone the Irish patriot, the hero of the insurrection of 1798 and whom the Barlows had known in the early days in Paris, now widowed for the second time and seeking a home in America, was invited to come to Kalorama. She accepted the invitation and the west wing was built for her occupancy. Its construction was peculiar in that it only contained two very large apartments with stairways both in front and in rear. Here she spent several years, dying in Georgetown in 1848. Her only son became an officer in the United States army. He had received a military education at St. Cyr as a ward of the French Republic and had served under Napoleon. Upon the return of the Bourbons to power he had not considered France a desirable place of residence.

Joel Barlow, who had no children of his own, had

adopted two orphan nephews, Thomas and Stephen Barlow. His will made before his departure for Algiers was in favor of his beloved wife. She divided her estate between the two nephews-at-law and her sisters, Clara Bomford and Sally French. Kalorama was devised to Tom Barlow as were the library and papers; its furnishings were to be divided between Tom Barlow and Clara Bomford. In the will are many bequests, among them five hundred dollars annually for the education of poor blacks in Washington, three hundred dollars to be annually distributed in charity.

"And I do also order and direct that the said Tom Barlow, or whoever may be entitled to the estate of Kalorama, to convey to such religious society as I shall by any future codicil name and point out, one acre of ground . . . to include the vault now built thereon, as a burial ground for ever, and I do order and direct my executors to provide out of my estate an annual fund of twenty dollars for keeping in repair any fence which may be erected around the same, and the sum of ten dollars to keep said vault in repair."

The executors were George Bomford, Henry Baldwin, Thomas and Stephen Barlow. Her brother Henry Baldwin, then a representative in Congress, soon bought the property from Thomas Barlow and immediately transferred it to Colonel Bomford who occupied it for nearly thirty years.

Mrs. Margaret Bayard Smith in her letters recently published repeatedly referred to the ladies of Kalorama, always in terms of admiration and affection. In a letter written in January, 1817, she tells of a large party given by her in which

"Mrs. Barlow seemed about as anxious as if it had been her own party, and wished me to make use of her servants and everything in her house which could add to the elegance of

the party. I accepted but a small portion of what she offered. The kind Mrs. Bomford came early in the morning and assisted in all the arrangements."

Ten years later she wrote, "On Christmas we were very happy as well as gay. Dear Mrs. Bomford and all her family came early in the morning and staid until late at night." Again: "Whatever she [Mrs. Bomford] does is with her whole heart, in private kindness and friendship she is equally zealous. I do love her and so does every one."

Colonel and Mrs. Bomford were people of high culture and well sustained the social reputation of Kalorama. Mrs. Bomford was an enthusiastic florist. In her garden was one of the choicest collections of rare trees and plants to be found in America, of which today there remains only the dying empress tree. Friends had brought contributions from distant lands, an ivy from Melrose Abbey clambered over the portico, orchids from the tropics blossomed among the then rare palms in the conservatories, a sago palm which the Botanic Garden acquired from her attracted crowds to see its blooming in 1874, the first sugar beets grew among her vegetables.

Col. Bomford was an engineer of great merit. He was the inventor of the "Columbiad," a gun so called in honor of Barlow's great epic poem, which was used in the ordnance till after the Civil War. He invested heavily and disastrously in Washington city lots. General Cullom thus refers to this gallant officer:

"To the skill and inventive talent of this invaluable officer the country was largely indebted preceding and during the war of 1812-15, he being almost the only one well informed in the manufacture of ordnance and ordnance stores. At the New York depot he established work shops in which gun-

carriages were constructed, small arms repaired, and all kinds of pyrotechny fabricated."

He was the first to hold the office of Chief of Ordnance in the United States army.

The three brothers of these ladies were also men of national renown; the eldest, Abraham Baldwin, the intimate friend and associate of Joel Barlow, a revolutionary patriot, went early to Georgia, was one of the founders of her state university, its first president, was a member of the national constitutional convention and for several terms, senator in Congress. He now has no memorial in Washington. Another, Dudley, remained in Connecticut and became a famous lawyer; while Henry, also a lawyer, went to western Pennsylvania, served two terms in the national House of Representatives, carried the state for General Jackson and was by him appointed Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States. While in the House he had been chairman of the committee that had reported the "Missouri Compromise." His son Henry went to Tennessee and became the law partner of John Bell, "the last of the Whigs." His sons Henry and William D. were the pioneer patent attorneys so well known in modern Washington where the latter still ably sustains the professional reputation of the family.

In 1819 the Prussian minister, Baron Von Greuhm, was a tenant at Kalorama. He had been smitten with the charms of a pretty governess in Governor Middleton's family and made her his wife. The ladies hardly knew whether to accept her socially, but she let it be known that her "latch string" was out for all Washington citizens.

In the early part of President Monroe's administration there was a decided lack of harmony in society

circles, so perhaps in the lofty apartments of Kalorama, heated only by open fires, there may have been several varieties of *chill* for the pretty and ambitious hostess.

On the night of March 23, 1820, the presses of the *National Intelligencer* were halted for the insertion of a postscript announcing the death of the popular hero, Commodore Decatur:

“Mourn Columbia! for one of thy brightest stars is set—a Son without fear and without reproach—in the freshness of his fame—in the prime of his usefulness—has descended into the tomb.”

The distracted widow begged of Colonel Bomford, a devoted personal friend, the privilege of the use of the Barlow vault, which was cordially granted. To again quote from the *Intelligencer*: “Since the foundations of the city were laid perhaps no such assemblage of citizens and strangers, on such an occasion has been seen.” Escorted by marines and sailors the sad cortège passed through the fields to the modest tomb secluded in the grove on the banks of romantic Rock Creek followed by the President, all official Washington and a vast concourse of citizens, the minute guns of the distant Navy Yard punctuating the measures of the funeral dirges.

Finding the associations of the home overpowering Mrs. Decatur accepted the hospitality of Kalorama and with the Commodore’s nieces, the Misses McKnight, resided for a time in the west wing, leading there a life of austere seclusion not entirely to the taste of the young ladies. After twenty-six years the body of Commodore Decatur was removed to St. Peter’s church yard in Philadelphia, where it now reposes beneath a beautiful memorial erected by the citizens of that city.

In 1824 the venerable Marquis de Lafayette visited

Washington. Mrs. Bomford had known him familiarly in Paris. Mrs. Seaton has recorded her pleasure in receiving an invitation to spend an evening "en famille" with the distinguished guest at Kalorama.

Colonel Bomford had many business enterprises outside his duties as Chief of Ordnance in the army. He had a large flouring mill in Georgetown which was destroyed by fire in 1844. There was much competition hereabouts then in grist milling. The field was clear for cotton mills which were prospering elsewhere, so he constructed an immense water wheel and erected a four story building on the site in which he placed three thousand spindles and one hundred looms. The mill provided employment for more than one hundred men and women. The success of the enterprise did not repay the outlay; although the city of Georgetown had assisted by remitting all taxes he found himself seriously embarrassed. In the settlement Kalorama was sacrificed. It is said he never recovered from his reverses, but died broken hearted. The family resided for a time on I Street in the house still to be seen in the rear of the Riggs' mansion. Mrs. Bomford finally went with her only daughter to Portland, Maine.

The estate at that time embraced ninety-one acres and extended from Woodley Lane and Rock Creek to Florida Avenue, crossing the creek at P Street. It was bought in 1846 by Thomas R. Lovett as trustee for his mother, Mrs. Charles Fletcher; the price paid was \$25,000—not a great advance from the \$14,000 paid by Barlow forty years before. Her descendants still retain holdings in the property. The acre about the tomb was reserved from the sale, but heirs not related to the original owners in some way evaded the prohibition, removed the sacred dust to Rock Creek Cemetery,

demolished what should have only been replaced by a memorial chapel and sold the beautiful lot—not a tree remaining of the once fine grove.

The Lovett family proved themselves worthy successors of the brilliant men and women that had preceded them, and the cultured, hospitable life continued. Mr. Thomas Lovett accompanied Minister Marsh to Constantinople in 1850 as an attaché of the legation. This perhaps led to introductions into all the foreign legations in Washington whose inmates were always on terms of pleasant intimacy with the family in the most charming country residence in the District. Mr. Fletcher was a man of erudition and extremely progressive, actively interested in many public projects. He numbered among his friends most of the prominent men of his day in official life.

Memories of romances cling around historic homes as ivy to the walls. Many a pretty tale might be told with Kalorama for a setting. The wooing of one of the young men of the family is typical and recalls some historic characters. The Empress Maria Theresa of Austria was greatly interested in the struggle of the American colonists for independence. When it had been achieved she despatched a trusted officer, Baron de Belen of Belgium, to America with her personal congratulations to General Washington. The Baron was so pleased with the country and people that he remained permanently, selecting York, Pa., for a home. His granddaughter, a beautiful young girl, gentle and winsome, was educated in the Georgetown convent, as were the daughters of many notable families of the past generation. Considering themselves still Belgians, her guardians placed her in charge of Colonel Beaulieu, then representing the Belgian government in America.

At an evening entertainment at the legation young Mr. George Lovett met Miss Caroline. The fate of both was at once decided and soon after another fair face was added to the group on the Heights. And there was the infatuation of the elderly bachelor, Dr. Bull, for the still attractive Mrs. Barlow with the interference of well-meaning but practical relatives who prevented the marriage, but broke thereby the heart of the gentle lady. The Russian Minister, Baron Bodisco, so long resident in Georgetown and whose name is remembered as the prince who wooed and won the modest maiden, was a frequent visitor at Kalorama. Among the treasures of the family is an oil painting of the old mansion done by Miss Lovett with his assistance. Neither did army and navy men fail to seek the generous hospitality, and with the usual result. Miss Emma Lovett was married to Commodore Samuel Livingston Breese in old St. John's in 1855. The bride was so distressed by her husband's immediate assignment to sea duty that Secretary Dobbin as a gift presented her with permission to join him on the flag ship in the Mediterranean. This was, we may be sure, a most acceptable present. Commodore Breese was made Rear Admiral by the act of 1862 and was commandant of the Brooklyn Navy Yard during the Civil War. One of the sisters married Captain Lansing of the army; another, Medical Director George Maulsby of the navy.

Kalorama had never been so beautiful as it was in the spring of 1861. The oaks planted by Joel Barlow along the avenue which wound around the hillside to the plain thence to the entrance lodge at P Street had grown till their boughs interlaced; the trees about the little Fulton summer house on the bluff towered high; the fine *Pyrus japonica* hedge formed an impervious

wall of green around the lawn where the boxwood had grown into trees, at every turn was some rare tree or shrub, while in the formal garden at the east—carefully kept as it had been left by Mrs. Bomford—was such a collection of growth and bloom as was not duplicated elsewhere in the district. The mansion with its long picturesque front, the wings embracing as it were the conservatories built on the front of the old house, painted in the old time yellow coloring, was completely embowered in a grove of noble forest trees; through vistas cut in the foliage views of the river and city from Georgetown to the Capitol and even far Alexandria could be had. Crocus, daffodils and jonquils blossomed on the greensward among the dandelion stars; great clusters of wistaria and pawlonia blooms hung heavily from vine and tree; the air was filled with the fragrance of blooming lilac, honeysuckle and magnolia. In the wooded parts of the estate the slopes were carpeted with violets and arbutus, the red-bud and dogwood brightened the background, the snowy banner of the ash swayed in each gentle breeze.

On a day in April the gentlemen of the family returned from the city greatly excited, Fort Sumter had been attacked and had surrendered—a great civil war was inevitable. Soon came the call for troops and regiments of soldiers came pouring into Washington to be encamped on the hills around the city. Lossing mentions the camp and drill ground on the level field of Kalorama, along the creek.

The guns fired that hot Sunday afternoon in August at Manassas were heard during the service being conducted by the regimental chaplain in the summer house. Has the reader ever listened to the faint booming of guns from a distant battle field? To a civilian the

sound brings a numbing sensation of horror never to be forgotten. It early became evident that a hospital for the isolation of contagious cases would be required. For such use no locality possessed the advantages of Kalorama. So the government leased the place, while the family removed to Philadelphia.

The hospital tents and buildings were demolished when the army was disbanded in the fall of 1865. The officers in charge proposed to give a fine farewell ball on Christmas Eve in the mansion. Unfortunately for their plans, through a defective stove pipe a fire was started which completely gutted the east wing. No report was made to the absent owners of the fire or evacuation. They by merest chance heard that stragglers had full possession and were destroying what the army had spared. Mr. Thomas Lovett appeared upon the scene in time to rescue an Aztec idol which a negro was ignominiously dragging down the hill by a rope about its neck. It was a cherished relic, having been brought from Mexico by Captain Lansing. It and the stone cannon balls brought from Malta by Admiral Breese, and which had been placed on the posts of the entrance gate, are now in the Lovett Free Library at Mt. Airy, Philadelphia. Many years elapsed before settlement was made by the government for rent or damages.

The mansion was elegantly rebuilt in 1872 by Mr. George Lovett. For the supports of the porte-cochere he used handsome iron pillars that had once done duty at the armory at Harper's Ferry.

In 1875 Mr. Lovett married for the second time, the lady being a daughter of Admiral Charles S. Boggs of "Varuna" fame. She was also a descendant of a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a grand-niece of Captain James Lawrence of the Navy; thus

another notable family became associated with Kalorama. It was no longer a country place; by the rapid growth of the city after the war it had become suburban. It was still beautiful, though much changed and no tour of Washington was complete that did not include a drive through the grounds. This was a favorite drive with General Grant, who greatly enjoyed the views from its outlooks. Mr. James G. Blaine would have had a residence for the President located at this point—in fact a negotiation for the purchase had commenced, to be tragically interrupted by the assassination of the President.

Mr. Lovett died in 1882. Seven years later the still attractive mansion was abandoned and torn away in order that city lots might be made to correspond with the levels of the intersecting streets. The elegant modern residence built by Mr. Wm. A. Mearns very nearly occupies the site of the old house.

Memories of great men who served their country ably and well—Scott, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, Barlow, Fulton, Baldwin, Bomford, Decatur and others of later date—with fair women, the social queens of their time—cling to the Kalorama of which only the name remains. Is it not fitting that a memorial be placed hereabouts to remind the returning fashion somewhat of the brilliant past?

## THE REINTERMENT OF MAJOR PIERRE CHARLES L'ENFANT.

By JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN, M.D.

(Report made to the Society, May 11, 1909.)

The Sundry Civil bill of 1908, contained a small clause which read as follows:

"One thousand dollars is made available for the Commissioners of the District of Columbia to remove and render accessible to the public the grave of Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant."

Congressional action had been sought many times to properly mark the grave of L'Enfant and erect a monument in the capital city; after many fruitless efforts, it was only last year that the members of the Columbia Historical Society, and a few others interested, were able to secure an appropriation; and thus a most fitting and glorious testimonial was given to L'Enfant's genius and patriotism on Wednesday, April 28, 1909.

On April 22, 1909, Commissioner Henry B. F. Macfarland, Dr. James Dudley Morgan, a grandson of William Dudley Digges who befriended L'Enfant, and on whose estate "Green Hill" in Prince George County, Maryland, L'Enfant was buried, Dr. William Tindall, secretary to the commissioners, Mr. George Howard, a grandson of George Riggs, the present owner of "Green Hill," drove out to the grave of L'Enfant, arrangements having been previously made with the Quartermaster General's Department of the United States Army to exhume the body on that day after the location of the grave had been designated by Dr. Morgan.

It was a lonely and unmarked grave more than six feet in length. A graceful, red cedar, drawing its vigorous life from the very earth which enveloped the ashes of the neglected Frenchman, his sole monument for eighty-four years, swaying and whispering with every breeze, carried the inspiration of his genius into never-ending requiem, while its pungent odor served as perpetual incense. "Nature, more generous than man, had drawn over the lonely mound a mantle of myrtle, like a pall of perennial green."

The work of exhuming the body was done under the direction of D. H. Rhodes, of the Quartermaster General's Department, and of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. The tall, slender tree which marked the spot where the Franco-American lay, and which had been planted at the head of the grave at the time the body was buried, June 14, 1825, had first to be carefully cut down before the work of transferring the body to a hermetically sealed casket could be begun. A thunder storm interrupted the operations for twenty minutes after the ground had been broken, then the digging of the grave was continued, in silence, for an hour or more. A straight line of black earth, in sharp contrast to the yellow clay the spades had brought up so far, was found at the depth of about four-and-a-half feet. Then the shovel was used carefully, the object being to trace out the line of black earth. As the dirt was cautiously removed, the outlines of the coffin became discernible. The shape was so marked as to prove to onlookers that the resting place of Major L'Enfant had been found. As the party stood with uncovered heads around the excavation, the transfer of the remains of the famous engineer was begun. A cardinal bird, sitting in a near-by tree, sang almost continuously during the work at the grave. Following the sealing

of the casket, it was wrapped in "Old Glory" and conveyed to the receiving vault at Mount Olivet Cemetery where it lay until the morning of April 28, when it was taken, under military escort detailed from the Second Battalion, Corps of Engineers, Captain Michael J. McDonough, commanding, to the rotunda of the capitol, where it lay in state from nine until twelve o'clock.

On that day, L'Enfant, who drew the plans for our city, was honored by the nation he had served.

"Thousands who never heard the Frenchman's name, thousands who have praised the broad avenues of the Capital City, yet knew not whose hand designed them or in whose brain the scheme of the city was born, learned that the name of L'Enfant had been blazoned at the top of the roll on which are graven those illustrious names whose memory will last as long as the beautiful city with which they are linked."

The long years of obscurity and lack of appreciation which shrouded the fame of the Revolutionary hero and gifted architect, were rolled away in the Capitol Rotunda, as the Ambassador from France, the Vice-President of the United States and the President of the District Commissioners paid each his glowing tribute to him who may be truthfully called the Father of the City of Washington. And when the thousands had passed around the catafalque on which reposed the casket, draped in the American flag—patriotic men and women, school children who, perhaps, had never seen the name of L'Enfant on history's page—the great casket was lifted by eight sturdy sergeants of the Engineer Corps and borne to the caisson of an artillery gun, and the long-delayed triumphal march which should have been L'Enfant's nearly a century ago, was begun to Arlington.

L'Enfant's membership in the Cincinnati, for which society he designed the badge and the certificate, was

emphasized by two incidents. As the President of the United States entered the rotunda, the blue and silver banner of the society was raised and lowered. After the addresses in the rotunda, Senator A. O. Bacon, of Georgia, inquired of Chairman Macfarland whether any insignia or emblem of the society had been placed upon the casket. Mr. Macfarland replied that there had not been. Senator Bacon then took from the lapel of his coat the badge of the Cincinnati which he was wearing and handing it to Mr. Macfarland requested him to deposit it in the grave with the remains. This commission Chairman Macfarland executed just before the grave was closed.

The funeral procession was nearly a mile long and most impressive. The streets were lined with spectators, flags were displayed at half mast, and as the cortégé passed the rooms of the Veteran Volunteer Firemen's Association, their bell tolled solemnly. Even this bell has had a varied history. Cast in 1856, for the Northern Liberties Fire Company, it sent out its grim warning until 1864, when the fire alarm went into service. The bell was then lent to Saint Theresa's Roman Catholic Church of Anacostia and for years called that congregation to prayer and praise. Finally in 1895, it was loaned to its present custodians and since then has paid its tribute of respect to many noted ones among the nation's dead.

In the National Cemetery at Arlington the grave was surrounded by the foremost men of the capital. With bowed heads and lowered eyes they stood while the Reverend William T. Russell, pastor of Saint Patrick's Church, celebrated the offices of the Church, assisted by James Maloney and Sheldon Fleishell as acolytes. Following the prayers, Father Russell made this brief address:

"The State represented by the highest officials of our country and of the District of Columbia having paid its tribute of respect and gratitude to the genius of L'Enfant it is meet that the Church of which he was a member during life should perform her last offices of affection for his memory and of supplication in behalf of his soul. Our national capital is enriched with monuments to the glorious memory of the heroic souls—Lafayette and Rochambeau—who contributed so generously to the achievement of our independence. Tardy have we been in acknowledging our debt of gratitude to him who planned, the 'City Beautiful.' But at length we have awokened to a sense of justice to him, and to the land which gave him birth. France—Catholic France—was our only ally, when we most needed friends. But for the ready financial aid with which Catholic France replenished our exhausted treasury, whereby our patriots were persuaded to keep the field, and but for the timely aid of Rochambeau and de Grasse—it may well be questioned how long our independence would have been deferred.

"This ceremony today reflects credit on the nation which thus speaks its gratitude, and honor on Catholic France and her heroes, who so rightly deserve it. L'Enfant needs no monument of marble or of bronze. The City Beautiful at his feet is the proudest and most endearing monument we can erect to his memory.

"But we come not to praise L'Enfant. He is beyond our power of praise. We come to pray for him, that his good works and our prayers may ascend to heaven as the odor of sweet incense before the throne of justice and mercy, and to bless his remains which we trust will rise to a glorious resurrection.

"May God grant to him who planned and dreamed the City Beautiful before us, an abode in the new Jerusalem the Celestial City Beautiful."

A moment of absolute silence, then three volleys were fired by a detachment of the Engineer Corps and Principal Musician, George A. Wintermyer, of the

Engineer Band, sounded "taps"—a soldier's burial—a fitting climax to the long-delayed honor which that day was paid to L'Enfant.

Grant me a few minutes to recall some of the many glowing tributes paid to his genius and his faith in the glorious future of his adopted country. He "forecasted the future." He laid out a city for "fifty states instead of thirteen." He could "imagine things a century before they happened." Like many of his kind, he was "dead long before his dream came true." His "services were not for one generation merely, but for all time; neither were they for the United States alone; the whole world may enjoy the beauties of Washington and delight in its charms as one of the greatest national capitals." "That L'Enfant's mind evolved the general plan of the present Washington," said Vice-President Sherman, "seems beyond the possibility of dispute." There was no question regarding his "ability or his taste. These plans which are now universally praised, were laughed at, derided and set aside as being too expensive and too ambitious, at the time they were made; but it is to L'Enfant's adherence to his original idea and his belief in the future greatness of this country, that the beauty of this city is due." "To plan this city," said Ambassador Jusserand in his address, "Washington selected a French officer, whose qualities of character and faults of temper, he had for thirteen years many occasions to appreciate; gifted, plucky, energetic, but difficult to handle."

Without the aid and backing which the Columbia Historical Society gave and secured, the remains of L'Enfant would not rest in Arlington today. The suggestion of the use of the rotunda of the United States Capitol was made to your president some months ago

by two members of this Society, each unconscious until this reading, that the other had the same idea.

It was to Mrs. Madison A. Ballinger and to Mrs. Charles W. Richardson that the appropriateness of the use of the rotunda came. A bereavement in the family of Mrs. Richardson prevented her taking an active part, and it was to Mrs. Ballinger and her husband that we owe the largest part of the success of having secured the capitol for the funeral services. There were many who coöperated and did valiant work; perhaps the names of Messrs. S. C. Neale, W. W. Abell, M. M. Parker, Representative Samuel W. Smith, Senator Isidor Rayner and Senator A. O. Bacon, stand out most prominently.

To but seven others had this honor of lying in state in the rotunda been accorded and each of the others was a native-born citizen:

Abraham Lincoln, April 19 to 21, 1865.

Thaddeus Stevens, August 13, 1868.

Salmon P. Chase, May —, 1873.

Charles Sumner, March —, 1874.

James A. Garfield, September 21 to 23, 1881.

John A. Logan, December 30, 1886.

William McKinley, September 17, 1901.

Pierre Charles L'Enfant, April 28, 1909.

THE PUBLIC CAREER OF MONTGOMERY  
BLAIR, PARTICULARLY WITH REF-  
ERENCE TO HIS SERVICES AS  
POSTMASTER-GENERAL OF  
THE UNITED STATES.

BY MADISON DAVIS.

(Read before the Society, May 11, 1909.)

Among the distinguished men, long-time citizens or residents of the District of Columbia, who by the force of their talents, wealth, or public services have attained a national reputation, few if any are worthier of the notice of the historian or more entitled to the nation's respect than Montgomery Blair, Postmaster General under the administration of Abraham Lincoln. He was the eldest son of the celebrated Francis P. Blair, Sr., publisher of the "Debates in Congress," and proprietor of the *Globe*, well known as the organ of General Jackson's administration—one of those astute editors of former times (not of the class sarcastically defined by Bismarck as "men who have mistaken their calling"), who without entering into public office managed to exert a potent influence upon governmental affairs. His mother, whose maiden name was Violet Gist, was a descendant of Colonel Gist, (prominent in the colonial days of this country,) and a lady of elegant accomplishments. Not only are his father and mother worthy of special mention, but if Emerson's dictum be correct, that "every man is a *quotation* from all his ancestors," then his whole family for generations back must have been made up of worthy and highly intellectual people. He was born on

the tenth of May, 1813, in Franklin County, Kentucky, and acquired his youthful education in that state. When twenty years of age he was appointed by President Jackson a cadet at the West Point Military Academy, and in due time was graduated from that institution, entering the army as a lieutenant, and serving as such in Florida during the Seminole War. At the end of the war, abandoning all thought of a military career, he resigned his commission and began to study law at the Transylvania University. Upon the completion of his course, he settled in St. Louis, Mo., where he soon acquired distinction, being appointed United States District Attorney for Missouri in 1839. President Tyler, however, removed him from that office; but this uncalled for action did not lessen his public standing, for in 1845 he was elected judge of the Court of Common Pleas of the City of St. Louis, (now known as the Circuit Court,) in which position he remained till 1849, when he resigned to resume the practice of the law. In 1853 he moved to the state of Maryland, of which he became a citizen, establishing his home at Silver Spring, Montgomery County, where he erected a dwelling\* contiguous to that of his father and began practice in the state and in the city of Washington, not only in the local courts, but in the Supreme Court of the United States. In 1855 he was appointed Solicitor General of the United States, in

\* During General Early's raid upon the capital in the Civil War, this dwelling was burned down but has since been rebuilt. It is said to have been destroyed by the Confederates in retaliation for some of the acts of a similar nature perpetrated by the federal officer, General Hunter, in the valley of Virginia. The rebuilt house is now occupied by one of Mr. Blair's sons, Montgomery Blair, Jr. Mr. Blair also had a city home in Washington, formerly known as No. 4, President's Square, but now designated 1651 Pennsylvania avenue, N. W.

which office he gained a national reputation, remaining in it until the formation of the Republican party. While Solicitor General Mr. Blair performed a great deal of valuable work for the government, always conscientious, always remarkable for his clear judicial insight, always prompt in the performance of duty, and wonderfully though serenely industrious. He seemed to embody the policy of Leon Gambetta: "The grand maxim nowadays is to work, always to work, and still to work." He had always been more or less interested in politics; but about this time he became greatly so, being frequently a delegate to political conventions and holding prominent positions on important committees. He had acted with the Democrats until the Republican party was organized; but he was in principle a "Free-Soiler," and as such he gradually assumed a pronounced attitude of opposition to the extension of slavery. Finally he and most of his free-soil associates felt bound to align themselves with the Republicans, and in fact to formally join that party. "It is not the manner of noble minds," says Wieland, "to leave anything half done"; so that, instead of being considered any longer an unsympathizing Democrat, Mr. Blair preferred to be known as an avowed Republican. Before that, however, being impressed with the conviction that the Federal Union was in danger of dissolution, and that this danger might be averted by the success of a third political party, he supported what was known as the American Party, and then began opposing secession with the utmost vigor. He had previously, together with a great many patriotic southerners, hoped for a peaceful settlement of the slavery question, and with that thought he drew the resolutions adopted by the Democrats of St. Louis in 1850, approving the compromise measures of Henry Clay; but he began now

to lose hope, as the purpose of the Democrats to destroy the Union became in his opinion more and more apparent. In his anxiety to restrict slavery he even took a prominent professional stand, and became one of the counsel for Dred Scott in his famous fight for freedom, and carried the case to the Supreme Court of the United States, where, if earnestness and high ability could have prevailed, he should have won it. Though he failed in this lofty effort, the matter added greatly to his reputation, and he began to be regarded as one of the greatest leaders of the bar in the United States. It is also greatly to the credit of Mr. Blair that in co-operation with Governor Andrews, of Massachusetts, he succeeded in rendering some assistance to John Brown—securing for him a fair trial after his raid at Harper's Ferry. This is shown in letters of Governor Andrews recently published.\*

Later, when the Union was actually threatened, Mr. Blair took a still more conspicuous position. He presided at the Republican convention in Baltimore, and was a delegate from Maryland to the Chicago convention, which in 1860 nominated Abraham Lincoln for the Presidency. After energetically and eloquently supporting the party, he after the election began to urge the reinforcement of the southern forts, and the adoption of every proper means of preserving the Union at all costs. He was absolutely untiring in his devotion to his country, and he advocated that stern but correct policy in later years announced by the man of blood

\* It has been suggested, with some reason, that had John Brown been represented properly by such a man as Mr. Blair from the incipiency of the proceedings against him, his fate might not have been so tragic; that as his offence was of the nature of treason against the United States, the case might have been removed to the national courts; and that in such an event, he would have been sent to an insane asylum instead of being executed.

and iron who made Germany one of the leading nations of the world: "A government may not waver: once it has chosen its course, it must, without looking to the right or left, thenceforth go forward." A short time before the inauguration Mr. Lincoln invited Mr. Blair to become a member of his cabinet, the place assigned him being that of Postmaster General. In this office he remained until 1864, when he resigned at the request of the President, not on account of any lack of efficiency, or of any dissatisfaction with him, but solely because of misunderstandings with some of the other members of the cabinet growing out of questions connected with the reconstruction of the Southern States. But notwithstanding this resignation, Mr. Blair in numerous public addresses, east and west, urged the reëlection of Mr. Lincoln, and if that great man had lived, it would probably have been developed that he and Mr. Blair were singularly alike in their opinions and policy. It need hardly be stated, in addition, that the severance of his official relations with the President engendered no bitterness of feeling between the two men.

One of the most admirable attributes of Mr. Blair's character was that on public questions he could never rest satisfied after arriving at a mental decision, with simply remaining quiescent. He had to go further. He thought with Carlyle that "conviction, were it never so excellent, is worthless till it converts itself into conduct." We find him, therefore, when in 1866 the disfranchisement constitutional propositions were up before the people of Maryland, not only sturdily announcing his views but taking active steps to support them. He became president of the anti-registry convention, through which movement the white people of Maryland eventually succeeded in securing full citizenship. He steadily opposed this disfranchisement movement and

successfully conducted the famous Cummings case before the Supreme Court of the United States, by which the proscriptive features of the Maryland constitution of 1864 were nullified. So, later on, during the critical Hayes and Tilden controversy, he was unwilling merely to "stand and wait." He became the editor of the *Union*, a newspaper published in the city of Washington during that momentous crisis, and was a representative of the State of South Carolina before the Electoral Commission, where he was a notable advocate of Mr. Tilden's cause. Not content with this, he, as a member of the Legislature of Maryland, was instrumental in having passed a bill protesting against the final action of the commission, by which means he had placed upon record what he regarded as the true history of the case.

Neither did his advancing age interfere with his ambition or his energy. When nearly three-score and ten, in 1882 he ran for Congress in the sixth district of Maryland, in which race, after a spirited effort, he was beaten.

He died in July, 1883, at his home at Silver Spring, Md., and was buried in Rock Creek Cemetery, in the District of Columbia.

This brief sketch of Mr. Blair's life is in itself sufficient to show that from youth to old age he was regarded as a man of high ability, joined with great capacity for usefulness, and justly entitled to the good will and respect of his countrymen; but his course as Postmaster General was so remarkable, and resulted in so much benefit to all the people, that a detailed account of it is entirely proper, and is consequently here given.

## BLAIR'S CAREER AS POSTMASTER GENERAL.

From the day when Benjamin Franklin relinquished the office of Postmaster General for the United Colonies to become our diplomatic and business agent abroad, down to the outbreak of the Civil War, the officials in charge of postal affairs in this country made few innovations upon existing customs, and throughout the history of the service for that period, covering over three fourths of a century, there was little or no advance in methods or results beyond what was inevitable from the nation's increase in wealth and population. During much of this time the conditions and charges under which letters were transmitted were complicated and exorbitant, and sometimes the rates of postage were almost prohibitory, as, for example, in 1815, when there was an increase of 50 per centum over the previous high rates.\* For most of this time, only letters and newspapers were admitted to the mails, even unbound books being excluded for sixty years after the days of the Confederation; and when bound books were finally allowed entrance, which occurred by virtue of an Act of Congress approved on the third of March, 1851, the weight of no package was permitted to exceed thirty ounces. To merchandise of every kind, inclusive of seeds and plants, so important to agricultural interests, the mails were rigorously closed. Street letter-boxes, now absolutely essential, were undreamed of; and postage stamps—those marvelous little passports which

\* By Act of Congress of April 30, 1810, the rates of postage on letters and packets were these: Single sheet of paper, when sent less than 40 miles, 8 cents; 40 to 90 miles, 10 cents; 90 to 150 miles, 12½ cents; 150 to 300 miles, 17 cents; 300 to 500 miles, 20 cents; over 500 miles, 25 cents. By act of December 23, 1814, Sec. 2, these rates were increased 50 per cent. from and after February 1, 1815.

secure for the journey of all letters to which they are attached uninterrupted transit, even across the frontiers of other countries, and whose introduction has been attended with untold good—were not adopted by the Post Office Department of the United States until 1847,\* or seven years after the actual use of them in Great Britain had demonstrated their extraordinary utility;† and even then they were welcomed with such scant official hospitality that fully ten years more elapsed before they began to receive anything like adequate recognition. The registration of valuable letters had been authorized, it is true, about seventy years after Franklin's day; but the management of the business was so inefficient that in his annual report for 1860 the Postmaster General, Joseph Holt, admitted that the novelty was a pronounced failure, and that the system, instead of giving protection to letters intrusted to its care, afforded only a ready means of depredation upon them.‡ Even the invention of the magnetic telegraph, which for a short time was taken up by the government after the patriotic offer of it by the inventor, and which was shown by the Department's own employees to be perfectly practicable—the first line being operated in Washington in the Department's own quarters, where the tick of the instruments could be heard at any time by the Postmaster General himself—failed to arouse the postal service from its lethargy; so that this magnificent addition to the means of human intercourse, whose subsequent development has transcended in its results the imagination of the Arabian

\* See act of March 3, 1847, Sec. 11.

† "Life of Sir Rowland Hill," Vol. 1, pp. 392 to 409.

‡ Pamphlet report of Postmaster General for 1860, p. 30.

storyteller, was shamefully surrendered, perhaps forever, to the control of private capitalists.\*

The financial operations of the service, too, had reached a critical condition. In the four years of Pierce's administration the expenditures were 38 per cent. more than the receipts. In Buchanan's, the deficit was nearly equal to the entire revenue. To be exact as to one year, when the deficit was even greater, the income of the service during 1860 amounted to \$8,518,067, while the expenses aggregated \$19,170,610.† In a short time under such a condition of affairs, the postal establishment would probably have gone into official insolvency, and been turned over to private hands. No wonder that Judge Holt, before he ceased to be Postmaster-General, should have given utterance to a sorrowful warning as to what seemed the destiny of the service, full of dignity and poetic beauty, which sounds almost like a requiem:

"This Department," said he, "cannot much longer occupy its present equivocal position. If not allowed to return to the principles on which it was conducted in its earlier and better days—the days alike of its independence, its efficiency, and its renown—borne down by the pressure of the existing course of legislation, it must ultimately become an established burden on the national revenue. . . .

"The Post-Office Department in its ceaseless labors pervades every channel of commerce and every theatre of human enterprise, and while visiting, as it does kindly, every fireside, mingles with the throbbing of almost every heart in the land. In the amplitude of its beneficence, it ministers to all climes,

\* It is but fair to state, however, that Cave Johnson, Postmaster General at the time the magnetic telegraph was operated by the Post Office Department, sturdily endeavored, though in vain, to induce the Congress of the nation to provide for the retention and control of the invention in its entirety. He was half a century beyond his age in this matter.

† For statistics covering Pierce's and Buchanan's administrations, see Report of Postmaster General for 1888, p. 754.

and creeds, and pursuits with the same eager readiness and with equal fullness of fidelity. It is the delicate ear trumpet, through which alike nations and families and isolated individuals whisper their joys and their sorrows, their convictions and their sympathies, to all who listen for their coming. Naturally enough, such an institution has ever been and still is a cherished favorite with the American people.

"The country has constantly manifested the most intense solicitude for the preservation of its purity and the prosperity of its administration; and it cannot now be disguised that the guilty abuse of its ministrations and the reckless waste of its hard-earned revenue, connected with the humiliations to which it has in consequence been exposed, have deeply and sadly impressed the public mind."\*

#### APPOINTMENT OF BLAIR.

It is surprising that so long a time should have passed in the history of the postal establishment without any material improvement in the management of its affairs—its final condition very nearly affording an illustration of the cynical remark of Gibbon, that all things human must retrograde if there be not an advance. For we should remember that in other countries, particularly in England and France, a great forward movement in postal matters had been going on for years, and that there were many reformers in our own country, as appears from the records of the Post Office Department, who had been constantly urging the introduction of new and needed and better things. The explanation of this probably lies in the fact that although there were at times at the head of the establishment highly intellectual men, there were none who embodied that rare combination of capability and energy which was necessary to carry into effect these proposed innovations. It remained for the opening of

\* See pamphlet report of Postmaster General for 1859, pp. 43-44.

the impending crisis of that time—the secession of the Southern States of the Union—to produce a marked change in the status of the post, and to bring to the front on the fourth of March, 1861, a man of great capacity, of known breadth of mind, of lofty purposes, of unfaltering will, and with that union of common sense and untiring industry, which made him, next to Franklin, the most remarkable man who had ever filled the office of Postmaster-General. This was Montgomery Blair, of Maryland, a sketch of whose life is hereinbefore given. He may justly be compared to Sir Rowland Hill, the eminent postal reformer of England.

#### POSTAL MATTERS IN THE INSURRECTIONARY STATES.

At the inception of Mr. Blair's administration a sea of troubles confronted him. Owing to the attitude of the Southern States and their representatives, everything was in confusion. The personnel of the Department was of doubtful loyalty; the legislation of Congress had been extremely reckless; and in some of the items of the expense account—that, for instance, involving transportation of the overland mails—the extravagance had been enormous. But the thing of greatest moment was the state of postal affairs in the insurrectionary States. For some time before any formal acts of secession were passed, many postmasters in the Southern States, seeing the trend of events, had practically ceased to regard themselves as under any obligations to the United States; and though continuing to act as postmasters, performed their duties independently of their relations to the government. After the States seceded from the Union, the Department lost its hold upon these officers altogether, and it became impossible to enforce the exercise of their duties,

. . .

to secure the payment of their indebtedness, or even to exact formal returns from them showing the state of their accounts to the date of secession. After struggling vainly for a few months to avert some of the impending troubles, and to get accurate information as to the extent and character of them, Mr. Blair decided to attack squarely the questions confronting him. Knowing that "indecision and delay are the parents of failure," he at once cut off all communication with insurrectionary postmasters. He closed their accounts on the books of the Department, and thus left them in the position of embezzlers or defaulters, to be proceeded against when practicable. He also abrogated summarily all mail contracts except in the loyal States, and, without waiting for the authorization of Congress, declared all postage-stamps outstanding in the hands of the disloyal postmasters to be no longer valid. To make this righteous though arbitrary act of repudiation the more effectual, he without delay issued a new series of stamps, of previously unused designs, first calling in and giving credit for all the stock of the old ones from every post-office still maintaining its business relations with the national government.\* After this it was but a short time before the business of the Post-Office Department was running in a fairly smooth channel.

#### ARMY MAIls.

Another matter that required the early attention of Mr. Blair—and of prime importance either from a national or an individual point of view—was the transportation of the mails to and from the Union armies

\* See pamphlet Report of Postmaster General for 1861, page 34; Rep. for 1893, pp. 543-545. See also "History of Postage Stamps," by John K. Tiffany, pp. 122-124.

in 1861 and afterwards, the establishment of army post-offices, the supplying of them with postage-stamps and stamped envelopes, the collection and delivery of their mail matter, and the rendition of periodical reports and accounts by military officers detailed for postal duty. As soon as this necessity arose he made arrangements with the several commanding generals and with the War Department, by which trusted officers and enlisted men connected with the armies in the field were to act as postmasters. He also appointed certain civilian superintendents to have supervision and control over all these military postmasters, and by the time there was any necessity for it, appropriate regulations had been formulated, the needed blanks printed, and the entire machinery perfected, by which the armies were served in the same manner as civil communities. Whenever the armies moved, he arranged that these military post-offices should move also, and the transmission of the mails to and fro was modified accordingly. The value of these army posts to the government and to individuals, and the admirable manner in which they were established and conducted, is yet a matter of unwritten history. But many old soldiers still remember how, in spite of unnumbered difficulties, and amid the bloody conflicts of the war, they continued to receive, with reasonable regularity, letters from home. Few of them, however, ever stop to think of the clear head and the long arm of the man at Washington who established and kept this beneficent system in force.\* Hon. Job Barnard, now one of the best known and best beloved judges of our District Supreme Court,

\* It is to be regretted that Col. D. B. Parker and Col. A. H. Markland, who were the principal officers in charge of army mails, have never published any narrative of this interesting feature of postal history. See, however, a reference to the matter, on page 14 of the Postmaster General's report for 1864, pamphlet edition.

and who it seems during his army life acted for a time as one of Postmaster General Blair's military postmasters, has elsewhere in this volume given some very interesting testimony as to the value of this branch of the postal service.

#### COMPULSORY PREPAYMENT OF POSTAGE.

Before Mr. Blair's time there had been great laxity in enforcing the law requiring prepayment of postage on mail matter, and much difficulty resulted therefrom. When he was fairly in the saddle, however, this abuse was in various ways vigorously suppressed,\* so that long before he went out of office, the non-payment of postage in advance was comparatively a rare occurrence, thus reducing clerical labor, simplifying accounts, hastening the delivery of letters, and increasing the postal revenue. This reform has had a beneficial influence upon postal business even to the present time.

#### ABROGATION OF FRANKING PRIVILEGE TO POSTMASTERS.

It hardly seems credible now, yet it is a historical fact, that in the days before the Civil War every postmaster, the income of whose office amounted to two hundred dollars a year or more, enjoyed the franking privilege; not merely the right to send official matter free from his office, but the right also to mail without any charge for postage all his private mail, which included that of his family, in large or small quantities. If a postmaster happened to be engaged in any other business, as that of a merchant, banker, publisher, or agent, (a very common occurrence,) it is not difficult to form an idea of what this privilege was worth to him, and consequently how much postage the government was thus losing. It may naturally be supposed that by

\* See page 28, pamphlet Report of Postmaster General for 1861.

a man of Mr. Blair's temperament, this **gratuity**, so utterly without reason, and so wasteful of the legitimate income of the Post Office Department, would be regarded as a shameful abuse, to be unceremoniously extirpated. It mattered not to him how the **custom had** originated; it weighed not an atom that long usage had established what seemed to most men a **prescriptive right**; nor did he hesitate because of the antagonism to him that might naturally be expected from **postmasters**. Disregarding the practice of his predecessors and feeling himself superior to all adverse criticism, as soon as opportunity was afforded him, he throttled the **evil,\*** and so effectively that it has never reappeared, nor has even any suggestion for its revival been made or hinted at.

#### EXTRAVAGANT PAY TO RAILROAD COMPANIES.

Dr. Channing well says that "difficulties are meant to rouse, not discourage." This was conspicuously true in Postmaster-General Blair's fight to reduce the charges for railway mail transportation. He found that the railroad companies were getting enormous prices for the carriage of the mails; that, combined, they were a gigantic power, which none of his predecessors had dared to combat; and that, metaphorically speaking, they had the Post Office Department by the throat. In his annual report for 1861—thus early did he begin the attack—he made an earnest presentation of the subject to the President, which he renewed in his report for 1862. He urgently recommended to Congress the enactment of provisions in the law calculated to reduce expense, and to put the whole business of railway postal matters upon a safe and proper

\* Pamphlet Report of Postmaster General for 1861, p. 30; also Report for 1862, p. 32, and act of March 3, 1863. Sec. 42.

basis.\* It is much to be regretted that he did not wholly succeed; but his agitation of the affair changed the previous feeling of many prominent men regarding it, at the same time stirring up strong public sentiment in his favor; and he lived to see the day when this sentiment, as a result of his efforts, compelled the National Legislature to cut down at one time the mail pay of railroads ten per cent. from existing rates, and at another time five per cent. more. There can be little doubt that had he remained in office a short time longer than he did, the reduction would have been more expeditious and pronounced.

#### IMPROVEMENT OF THE REGISTRY SYSTEM.

Judge Holt, intellectually great as he was—and he was without doubt one of the brainiest men in the nation—declared before he left the Post Office Department that the scheme of registering valuable letters, in order to give them greater security, had resulted in failure, and he therefore recommended its discontinuance. His equally intellectual but more practical successor, Mr. Blair, had fortunately very different views. The new Postmaster-General recognized the hidden advantages of the despised registry system, and felt that by cutting away a few imperfections and providing for a more healthful exercise of its functions, it could be given a vigorous life. He established a new fee for registering; he adopted what is called the return receipt, through which the sender of a letter may know that it has been received by the proper person; and he introduced several other reforms, not the least among them being a rigid accountability on the part of postal employees, under which the system began

\* See pages 33 and 9 of the reports for 1861 and 1862, pamphlet edition.

rapidly to manifest its usefulness. Today it is one of the most valuable adjuncts of the post-office establishment.\*

In connection with this improvement, he urged another measure of great importance which unfortunately failed of adoption; he recommended that no money be allowed to be transferred by mail unless it were registered, or unless, under another scheme which he had the foresight to introduce, it should be sent in the form of a postal order.† If this rule had been adopted—and it is now the sensible and well-established regulation in England—the rifling and theft of letters, then and now so common a crime, would have been practically eliminated.

#### INTRODUCTION OF THE RAILWAY MAIL SERVICE.

Carlyle says with blunt truthfulness that “by nature man hates change; seldom will he quit his old home till it has fallen about his ears.” Mr. Blair was an exception to this rule. In fact he was naturally an innovator, though a very careful and prudent one. He believed that progress, which some great writer has, by a gigantic trope, called “the stride of God,” is one of the fundamental laws of society, and that what is termed conservatism is simply “the pause on the last movement.” Therefore when, among other things coming within his ken, he found that by the old system of distribution, a bag of letters in its journey of even a few hundred miles had to be stopped here and there, handled and rehandled by the clerks of what were known as distributing post-offices, and consequently delayed one, two, or more days, he felt that something better was needed. Accordingly, after due reflection,

\* Pamphlet Report of the Postmaster-General for 1862, pp. 22, 23.

† Pamphlet Report of the Postmaster-General for 1862, p. 21.

and with his accustomed vigor, he took up the subject, making valuable use of some of the Department's experts and theorists who had for some years been giving the matter their own attention, and after exhaustive investigation and experience, succeeded in evolving a great reform. To be brief, he established what is today known as the railway post-office system, by which the railroad car became a perambulating post-office, *to* which mails are brought at the beginning of a route and at every point between its termini, *in* which such mails are made up and separated as they are in stationary post-offices, and *from* which they are distributed to places along the road and to their multiplex connections—a system under which letters are dispatched direct to their destinations and without unnecessary stoppages, according to fixed and well-known schemes. This admirable innovation, now of almost marvelous complexity, but beautifully exact in all its workings, by which a letter reaches its destination as soon as does a traveller going the same way and sometimes by judicious transfers even sooner,\* has been of inestim-

\* The following letter, from Horace P. Springer, the accomplished superintendent of mails of the Washington City Postoffice, points out several ways in which a letter going to the same place as a traveller is journeying to, may reach there sooner:

WASHINGTON, D. C., June 7, 1909.

MR. MADISON DAVIS,

Station B, Wash., D. C., Post Office.

My dear Mr. Davis: The following are instances which occur at Washington, illustrating my statement to you that mail often arrives at its destination sooner than a passenger can who leaves at the same time:

Through passengers from the south for New York, arriving at Washington by the train due at 11.50 p.m., are invariably ticketed by the Pennsylvania road, and must, when the train arrives more than 40 minutes late, wait here until 8 a. m., unless a special train is provided for their benefit; but mail is transferred to the B. & O. train leaving at 2.52 a. m., and arrives at New York City only 30 minutes after the passenger leaves Washington.

able advantage to the world. Few people, however, ever reflect upon the infinite labor required to bring it to its present state of perfection, or that it owes its life to the foresight and the energetic action of Montgomery Blair.\*

#### ADOPTION OF THE PRESENT LETTER-CARRIER SYSTEM.

Sharing the views of his immediate predecessor, and carrying them out in the practical suppression of what

Mail for several offices in northeastern Virginia is supplied from stations on the B. & O. Rwy. by star routes, while passengers invariably travel by the Southern Rwy., for the offices are much nearer that road. The mail arrives several hours ahead of the passengers.

After midnight, mail for officers in Montgomery County, Maryland, which goes via Laurel, leaves that place at 6.45 a.m., arriving at destination several hours earlier than passengers, who go by way of Rockville, the train for which place leaves Washington at 8.30 a.m.

After 9 a.m., a passenger from Washington, or from any point east or west, must wait until 10.45 p.m. for a train to New Orleans, La., arriving at that place at 7.55 a.m. on the second day after his departure. A letter may be sent on the 11 a.m. train from this city, however, arriving at New Orleans at 8.30 p.m. the next day. Such a letter, if it bears a special-delivery stamp, will be delivered 9 or 10 hours before the passenger arrives. All points between Birmingham, Ala., and New Orleans, La., are affected in the same manner, while points between Washington and Birmingham gain about 5 hours. This because of the fact that the train is operated exclusively for mail and express service. Passengers for Cumberland, Md., and intermediate points from Washington, after the departure of the 12.40 a.m. train, must wait until the 9.10 a.m. train, but mail is dispatched by the 4.12 a.m. train—a gain of 5 hours all along the line. The 4.12 a.m. train does not carry passengers.

Conditions similar to these exist in all thickly settled parts of the United States.

Very sincerely yours,

H. P. SPRINGER.

\* See pamphlet Report of Postmaster-General Dennison for 1864, page 15, in which he narrates the work of Mr. Blair in the evolution of this reform down to the date of the latter's resignation, September 23, 1864. See also "History of the Railway Mail Service," pp. 177-178, published by order of the United States Senate February 6, 1885.

were known as "private letter expresses," Mr. Blair manifested his purpose not to tolerate any invasion by unofficial persons or companies of the business of the government in the transmission and delivery of letters; and the resulting decisions of the courts and the almost uniform action of Congress show that in this matter he was the undoubted representative of public sentiment. But he was not unfair. He was ready enough to drive out the private letter expresses, which in the great cities catered largely to business convenience; but in doing so, he deemed it his duty to substitute something under governmental control quite as good if not better. In brief he decided to break up what had been familiarly designated for seventy-five years as the penny-post system, and to introduce in its stead the letter-carrier and collection system, by which through the hands of salaried employees the citizen receives his letters at his residence or place of business, and has them collected from established locked letter boxes and carried to the post office, without personal inconvenience or cost. This system—known as the "free-delivery" system—was recognized at once as eminently useful. It was recommended by Mr. Blair, was put into operation in a number of large cities before he left office, and has gone on increasing to such an extent that soon, with the addition of the rural delivery system, it will give the benefit of personal delivery and collection to every person in the land, whether he be an inhabitant of a city, a village, or a farm.\*

#### THE MONEY ORDER SYSTEM.

On page 21 of the annual report of Postmaster-General Blair for 1862, we find a very important recommen-

\* See pamphlet Report of Postmaster-General for 1862, p. 32; also Report for 1863, p. 81; and Report for 1864, p. 21.

dation, made for the first time in the history of the United States postal service, namely, that there be authorized, as a part of the establishment, a plan, similar to what at that time existed in England, by which at certain post offices small remittances might be made, for a trifling fee, in the form of orders or drafts upon other postmasters. Mr. Blair finding this postal draft or money-order system to have been successful in other countries where it had been introduced, looked carefully into it, and being certain that it would be a good thing in the United States, he without delay secured authority for its adoption, organized it, prepared the necessary forms, established the rules for its government, and about one month after he left office in 1864, it went into operation. His successor, Gov. Dennison, had thus the honor of announcing its introduction.\* If Mr. Blair could have seen the extent of country over which this business was to be carried, the convenience and value of it to all the people as a cheap and safe means of transferring money, and the enormous values in the aggregate thus changing hands, he himself would have been astounded; for it has grown to proportions beyond the dreams of its most enthusiastic friends.† Several features of this great scheme deserve special attention:

1. Although a small appropriation was made by Congress at the beginning of the system, to pay the

\* See Act of Congress of May 17, 1864; also pamphlet Report of Postmaster General for 1864, pages 24 and 25.

† Up to the close of business June 30, 1909, the Post Office Department during the forty-four years of the existence of the money order system, had issued nearly nine hundred million domestic money orders, comprehending in their issue and payment over fourteen billion dollars. During the past year alone its payments and issues involved nearly a billion dollars, to say nothing of international business. The domestic system comprehends 50,000 post offices, and the international branch of it takes in nearly all the nations of the world.

necessary cost of its records, forms and other paraphernalia, no further aid from Congress has since been required. In other words, this wonderful medium of exchange, now comprehending, in the issue and payment of orders the handling annually in this country of nearly ten hundred million dollars, is carried on without a cent of capital except what comes from the payment of fees and from temporarily unpaid orders, or the cash held at post offices in the interval between the issue of orders and their payment. But to use this money—provided by the patrons of the system, it should be remembered—the utmost nicety of calculation is required to keep it moving from post offices where the issue of orders is greater than the payments (or where the income is greater than the outgo) to others where the reverse of this is the case. Before the money-order system was authorized, very few men in the country besides Mr. Blair deemed this result to be practicable.

2. The constant circulation of money in the large amounts involved in these transactions is of no inconsiderable importance to the commercial world. In the many channels through which the money goes, it forms an important item of a vast business between the various parts of this country which is as vital to its well-being as the circulation of its blood is to the human body. It gives strength and activity to trade; it prevents stagnation; it promotes health and growth; and it also distributes the money.

3. The system is conducted with absolute safety. No man who buys a money order need lose anything by reason thereof. If the order is lost or destroyed, the remitter or the payee can obtain a duplicate; if it should pass into wrong hands, or be paid on a forged signature, the government is responsible; or if for any rea-

son the buyer repents his purchase, he can secure repayment to himself. Nor does the government suffer loss. It is true that now and then irregularities occur in payments; but as a rule the amount involved is so insignificant as to be hardly worthy of mention, and, besides, the employee who makes a blunder is required to rectify it, and in any case where he is not liable, the government's loss is but a bagatelle, which in the aggregate is more than made good by the money received for orders that are never presented for payment, and which are never turned in for redemption.

If Mr. Blair had no other claim to the gratitude and admiration of his countrymen, the introduction of the money-order system alone would be sufficient to give him a niche in the Temple of Fame.

#### THE UNIVERSAL POSTAL UNION.

Another of the great things accomplished by Mr. Blair was the bringing about of a conference representing the postal service of this and of other countries, whereby the complexities of the international mail service were to be remedied, and better and more uniform regulations adopted. The first suggestion of such a conference was made by Hon. John A. Kasson, a veteran diplomatist still living, and who was First Assistant Postmaster-General at the beginning of Lincoln's administration. Mr. Blair, with his usual acumen, comprehended at once the magnitude of the proposition, and took prompt and effective steps to have it realized. At his request letters were sent by the Secretary of State of the United States to all nations of the world with which the United States had diplomatic intercourse, inviting them to send representatives to a postal congress to be assembled in the city of Paris, which should take into consideration the entire subject

of the international exchange of mails—the representatives to report to their several administrations the result of their deliberations.\* In compliance with this request a congress assembled at Paris on the eleventh of May, 1863. It was attended by delegates from England, France, Prussia, Italy and many other countries, besides our own, who thoroughly and in the most friendly spirit discussed the measures proposed by Mr. Blair, and agreed to thirty-one articles which form substantially the rules governing international postal intercourse at this time.† The idea underlying Mr. Blair's scheme is well stated in the following extract from the opening remarks of M. Vandal, the representative of France in the Congress, and its presiding officer:

"The time has passed, gentlemen," said he, "when nations, obedient to a spirit of mistaken jealousy, strove to circumscribe their relations within their own frontiers, and rejected progress solely because it originated beyond the boundary line which separates national limits. Modern generations have abandoned these prejudices of a former age. Whilst the great works of industry levelled mountains, drew continents to each other, and triumphed over distance and time, nations have sought by mutual intercourse to enlighten the world, to put their knowledge into a common stock, and to inspire one another with useful ideas, whatever might be their origin and their nationality. The spirit of emulation has taken the place of the spirit of exclusion; the tendency now is to fusion rather than to isolation, and no nation feels offended at seeking beyond its frontiers for a lesson, a study, or an example.

"It is by drawing on the common patrimony of humanity that nations grow great for the future, and with a greatness

\* See pamphlet Report of the Postmaster-General for 1862, pp. 6 and 48; also pamphlet Report for 1863, pp. 10-14.

† Pages 11 and 12 of pamphlet Report of the Postmaster-General for 1863.

which can give umbrage to no one. The assimilation of sentiments and of interests does not, as has sometimes been said, suppress war, for we cannot suppress human passions; but it certainly diminishes its chances, and gives us foundations for peace, cordiality of relations, solidarity of interests, and the consciousness of mutual esteem. It is this order of ideas, gentlemen, which has inspired this assemblage, of which we all rejoice to form a part. We come here with the intention of studying, by means of the amicable intercourse with our colleagues of other nations new ameliorations for the profit of that public whose interests it is our first duty to serve, and to prepare for the future elements of postal conventions which our government may hereafter negotiate. . . . ”

This notable conference resulted in an immense deal of good in the simplification and modification of postal treaties. Its chief claim, however, to the attention of the world, is that it was the precursor of that splendid scheme of postal intercourse known to-day as the Universal Postal Union—a scheme which almost realizes the aspirations of the poet and the philanthropist for the federation of man—by which nearly all the nations of the world are united in a common agreement for regulating uniformity in treatment, rates and conditions as to postal matters, through which the whole earth has become practically one postal territory, and by which mankind has been incalculably bettered. In plain truth, this august brotherhood of nations had its birth in the Congress of Paris of 1863, and that congress originated in the Post Office Department at Washington under Postmaster-General Montgomery Blair. In the Report of Postmaster-General Bissell for 1894, in that of Postmaster-General Wilson for 1896, and in the speech of Postmaster-General Gary upon the assembling of the Postal Union Congress in Washington in May, 1897, the amplest recognition of Mr. Blair's claim to having started the movement which

led to the formation of the Universal Postal Union, is frankly given; and this, too, without detracting from the credit due to Dr. Stephan, the Postmaster-General of Germany, who has often been spoken of as the father of this world-wide confederation. It is an interesting fact that the last meeting but one of the Congress of the Universal Postal Union was held in a building in Washington which nearly adjoins Mr. Blair's late residence, now occupied by his sons, No. 1651 Pennsylvania Avenue.

#### FINANCIAL RESULTS OF BLAIR'S ADMINISTRATION.

To most practical men, the financial operations of the Post Office Department under Mr. Blair's administration will prove absorbingly interesting; and they show him, as effectively as any of the things herein presented, to have been a man of marked business ability, who brought the postal service from a state little short of bankruptcy, not only to one of self-support, but into a condition where it yielded a revenue to the Government over and above its expenses.

Most men have an idea that the receipts of the postal service are independent of the head administrator of its affairs; or that, as Congress fixes the rates of postage, and as the public patronizes the service according to its pleasure or its necessities, these factors alone determine the amount of its revenues. This, however, is a mistake. The rates of postage are in fact largely dependent upon the manner in which the Department is managed, and are based upon the recommendations of the Postmaster-General; and the income is dependent upon the facilities afforded the public in the collection, dispatch and delivery of mail matter, the efficiency and honesty of postmasters, the safety and certainty with which the mails are handled, and of

course by the important fact that the tariff of charges is neither too high to repress correspondence, nor so low as to cause a serious loss in the conduct of the business. In these measures Mr. Blair neglected none of his opportunities. He strenuously opposed any reduction of the rates of postage until the service could afford it; he exacted the utmost efficiency and the most scrupulous exactitude among postmasters; and he demanded that the universal convenience of the public should always be the first consideration of the Department. In one of his reports he gives utterances to his thoughts as to this in an aphorism which subsequent experience has shown to be literally true. "*In my opinion,*" said he, "*it may be regarded as an axiom in postal affairs, that certainty, frequency, and facility of postal communication influence the amount of correspondence more than any variations in a moderate tariff.*"\*

While thus the head of the department may in a measure influence its receipts, in the matter of expenditure he has much greater power. Moderation or freedom in expense is largely a matter of good or bad administration. We all know that some men are naturally extravagant; others are of the opposite extreme. One man may be unsuspecting or over-confident in running his business; another may be a mere watchdog. Mr. Blair showed himself in fiscal matters to be an admirable executive officer. He was not a narrow-minded martinet, nor was he a catchpole; he frowned upon inefficiency and he expected all of his subordinates to do their duty, as he did his; he spent no public money beyond what was necessary; he demanded reasonable charges for whatever material or service was rendered the department; and he saw that

\* See Pamphlet Report of Postmaster-General for 1862, pp. 28-29.

every dollar due was collected and promptly accounted for. The result was that he had few dishonest men under him. While under the administration of Judge Holt, in 1860, there had been one defalcation of a postmaster which alone amounted to \$175,000, to say nothing of others, under Mr. Blair's management no embezzlement at all occurred.

The financial results of his administration as contrasted with those of some of his predecessors are shown in the following statement:\*

For the year ending June 30, 1858, the first full year of Buchanan's administration, the postal receipts were .....	\$ 8,186,793
And the expenditures were.....	12,722,470
Showing a deficit of.....	<u>4,535,677</u>
For 1859 the receipts were.....	\$ 8,668,484
And the expenditures were.....	15,754,093
Showing a deficit of.....	7,085,609
For 1860 the receipts were.....	\$ 8,518,067
And the expenditures were.....	19,170,610
Showing a deficit of.....	10,652,543
For 1861, nine months of which were in Buchanan's administration, the receipts were.....	\$ 8,349,296
And the expenditures were.....	13,606,759
Showing a deficit of.....	5,257,463
For the year 1862, the first full year of Blair's administration, the receipts, owing to the secession of the Southern States, amounted to only.....	\$ 8,299,821
And the expenditures were.....	11,125,364
Showing reduction of the deficit to.....	2,825,543
For the year 1863 the receipts aggregated.....	\$11,163,790
And the expenditures were.....	11,314,207
Showing a deficit of only.....	150,417

\* See tabulation of postal statistics in Report of Postmaster-General for 1888, pp. 753-755.

For the year 1864, the last year of Blair's ad-	
ministration, the receipts were.....	\$12,438,254
And the expenditures were.....	<u>12,644,786</u>
Showing still a small deficit of.....	<u>206,532</u>

For the year ending June 30, 1865, the receipts were.\$14,556,159	
and the expenditures were.....	<u>13,694,728</u>
Showing a surplus of receipts of.....	<u>861,431</u>

By these figures the fact is shown that in one year after Mr. Blair went into office he had cut down the deficiency fifty per cent.; that in the years 1863 and 1864, the deficiency was practically extinguished; and that in the year 1865, part of which was under his administration, the service actually yielded a surplus of receipts over expenses.

During the year 1866, when Mr. Blair's methods and policy still governed the Post Office Department, the financial showing was quite as good. Only twice since then, however,—that is in the years 1882 and 1883—has such a condition of affairs existed, notwithstanding the fact that for most of this time a very material item of expense—the cost of transporting the mails over the subsidized Pacific Railroads—was not charged as an expenditure, but was *simply* credited on the books of the Treasury Department as an offset against the indebtedness of those companies to the government. Under what was known as the Thurman law, these earnings of the Pacific Railroad companies, instead of being paid to them, as with others engaged in carrying the mails, were simply totalized and reported to the treasury. If the Post Office Department had been required to pay for this service, its nominal deficiency for all the years during which the Thurman

act was in operation would show an increase of expenditures of over a million dollars a year.\*

#### MR. BLAIR'S GENERAL USEFULNESS.

There were many other things done by Mr. Blair as Postmaster-General that deserve mention; but the preceding account of his services is sufficient to prove him a remarkable man. It must be borne in mind, also, that during these years of his efficiency, his honesty, his progressiveness, and his untiring industry as to postal affairs, he was not lacking in attention to other matters calling for the highest order of statesmanship. He was not content to represent in Mr. Lincoln's cabinet only the Post Office Department. He was one of the greatest men in it, and his counsel in all things was wise, plain-spoken and of unequivocal value in the great struggle then going on for the salvation of the nation.

Some of the principles that guided his conduct are well worth recording:

One of these was his habit of thoroughly deliberating upon things coming under his consideration, without, however, materially delaying the necessary action. Mr. Kasson, who was intimately associated with him, both personally and officially, has, in an interesting talk before the Columbia Historical Society, spoken fully of this habit. He could not and did not desire to acquire the vulgar habit of haste. He might well have adopted as a motto that which was chosen by General von Moltke: "Erst wägen: dann wagen." *First weigh: then venture.*

\* See Act of Congress approved March 3, 1879: See also Reports of the Auditor of the Treasury for the Postoffice Department from 1880 to the date when the indebtedness of the Pacific Railroad Companies was extinguished in the manner comprehended by the Thurman Act.

Again, Mr. Kasson has alluded to this fine trait in Mr. Blair's make-up: He was not only quick to appreciate the merits of his subordinates, but always ready to give their services full recognition and acknowledgment. He had an adequate idea of his own ability and self-containment, but he was not a vain man; and in carrying out his own natural inclination towards a square deal, he felt it incumbent upon him, whenever he received any valuable help, to duly acknowledge it. This is in marked contrast to the rule with many other prominent men, who sometimes descend to the meanness of actually stealing the ideas of their subordinates.

Although in the course of his life, he had to encounter many things which he regarded as great wrongs—things, too, which in their nature were calculated to lessen his faith in humanity—he did not allow them to embitter him. On the contrary, his natural optimism was unshaken. He believed with St. Simon that the “golden age, which a blind tradition has hitherto placed behind us, is before us”; and he had an unquestioning belief in the advancement of his country, and in its ultimate recognition of what constitutes the true grandeur of nations.

He was rather remarkable, too, for what the French happily call *savoir faire*. Whatever he decided upon, he seemed to know best how to accomplish, and that without giving undue offence. Coupled with this trait he had likewise so much of what Emerson terms “centrality,” or the power to resist all effort to displace or overset one, that once his position was taken, he was almost immovable.

Moreover, he was signally free from envy or suspicion, and could see the good in other men without jealousy or suspicion. This quality was well illus-

trated by one feature of his policy as Postmaster-General: He employed special agents or inspectors, just as his predecessors did, and as his successors have continued to do; but he used these men less as detectives than as instructors and helpers of postmasters and other classes of postal employees, and the effect of this was undoubtedly to make these employees more efficient and loyal.

Finally, he was in all respects straightforward, although as to men of this class, it seems almost unnecessary to dwell upon this virtue. He could not be otherwise than honest. This was a part of his birthright. He probably never harbored the thought of crookedness. His conscience was his mentor, and he knew, as old Isaak Walton truly expresses the thought, that "he who loses his conscience has nothing left that is worth keeping."

#### REMARKS OF VICE-PRESIDENT BARNARD.

*Mr. President:*—The interesting address of Mr. Davis brings vividly to my mind the fact that at one time in my life I had some relation to the postal service while Mr. Blair was Postmaster-General. As a private soldier in the Union army, I was detailed to act as regimental postmaster, and clerk to the colonel, while the army of the Cumberland, under command of General Rosecrans, was encamped about Nashville in December, 1862.

The mail facilities were then so well organized that the soldiers were in almost constant communication with their families and friends at home. One of the advantages we had by the act of Congress, and the regulations of the Postmaster-General, was the same as that given by the Continental Congress to the

soldiers of the Revolution. We could send letters home without prepayment of postage, and one of my principal duties was to sign the colonel's name and title on the upper right-hand corner of the unstamped letters. The rate then was three cents, and the receiver of the letter paid the postage on its receipt.

The regulations were so well systematized that we seldom lost mails, except when they occasionally fell into the hands of the enemy. If we moved on before our letters arrived, they followed us. There was a regular system by which the mail for the whole army was sent to headquarters, and from there was distributed to division, brigade and regimental headquarters. I received the mail to be sent home at the colonel's tent, and on receipt of mail from brigade headquarters, it was my duty to assort it, and distribute it to the various companies.

I remember one incident which indicates the peril, and at the same time the care, to which soldiers' letters were subject. A young lady schoolmate in the north wrote me a letter, and enclosed her photograph. It reached the army about the time of the battle of Stone River, and in the confusion of that battle in some way some of the mail bags were rifled, and the mail destroyed. Among such was my letter. Fragments of it, however, reached brigade headquarters, and the brigade postmaster, with whom I was acquainted, found enough of the torn envelope in which the picture was still enclosed, to make out my name, and so he put the picture in his pocket, and saved it for me out of the ruins, although I never received the letter.

I am pleased to bear testimony from this personal experience to the efficiency with which Mr. Blair organized the postal service in the army; and will add that in my judgment, the satisfaction and encourage-

ment that the soldiers received from these mail facilities, contributed, in a large measure, to the final success of the Union cause. The patriotic letters received from home inspired the volunteer soldiers to do their whole duty to their country.

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#### REMARKS BY HON. JOHN A. KASSON.

I am very happy to add my word of praise to the career of Postmaster-General Blair, and to endorse all that has been said in his commendation by Mr. Davis. Though my term of First Assistant Postmaster-General was short, as I resigned to take my seat in Congress, I had been acquainted with General Blair in St. Louis, where he resided before coming to Washington. He and his brother, Frank Blair, had formerly been members of the Democratic party, but had joined the Republicans in the reorganization of parties which took place between 1855 and '60. Mr. Lincoln, in forming his cabinet, as will be remembered, chose to form it chiefly from his rival candidates for the Presidency. Hence his cabinet was lacking in harmony of action, and quarrels were prevalent in it, Seward and Chase being the leaders of factions.

Mr. Blair, while holding himself aloof, as far as possible, from the factional dissensions in the cabinet, was generally opposed both to Seward and to Chase. Of course, he was much interested in the progress of the war, in which his brother, Frank Blair, was a prominent officer, but he did not interfere with questions relating to the management of the army; neither was he so involved in these questions as to neglect his duties as Postmaster-General.

Perhaps the principal event of his administration was the assemblage of an International Convention at Paris for the reform of international postal relations. This was in the second year of his administration. More than twelve of the foreign powers united in the proposal and were represented in the conference. Mr. Blair appointed me to represent this country in the conference. There were many evils to be corrected in our postal intercourse with foreign countries, as a different postal agreement existed with each country, involving different and high rates of postage, so that a man with a letter in his hand for the foreign mail would be obliged to inquire of the postmaster, in nearly every case, the rate of postage for that country. And it was impossible to remember the rates to the various countries. Besides this, under the system then prevailing of international postal accounts, large annual balances were due from the United States to foreign countries which we were obliged to pay in specie. And it was greatly to be desired to avoid this annual debt. Suffice it to say, that the convention agreed upon uniform rates, and plans which abolished most postal accounts.

As an indication of the high sense of honor which governed Postmaster-General Blair, I venture to read from his annual report, made in October, 1863, the following extract:

"I deem it proper in concluding my remarks on this subject, to make prominent the fact that the public owe the suggestion to invite this International Conference to the Hon. John A. Kasson, who represented our government in it with such zeal and ability as to command the thanks and warm approval of his associates. I do not doubt that important and lasting advantages are to flow from this Conference due in a great degree to his assiduity, practical ability and earnestness in the cause of progress."

This is the only instance known to me where a cabinet officer has acknowledged in a regular official report the credit due to a subordinate; and his tribute was rendered, also, after I had ceased to be a member of his department.

Mr. Blair rendered large service to the people in the reorganization and simplification of postal arrangements, for which the country will long remain his debtor.

It is a great pleasure to meet with the members of this Society once more after long absence from their meetings by reason of ill health.

## PRESENTATION OF GAVEL TO THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY DR. JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN, PRESIDENT,

November 9, 1909.

This gavel, made from the root of the red cedar tree which marked the grave for nearly a century of that genius and patriot, Pierre Charles L'Enfant, is presented to the Columbia Historical Society. It is peculiarly appropriate that a society which has worked so unceasingly and zealously for justice to and recognition of a genius who gave up country, home and friends for our cause, should receive as a relic and memento, the heart and root of the cedar tree, which has for generations stood as his only headstone. Erect, ever green, now resting, now sighing with the winds, its growth and strength came from his very ashes; it stood as a sentinel, a constant reminder, as a link with the past.

Today L'Enfant rests in historic Arlington; an honored grave and pomp are his. And the cedar tree has fallen, but from its trunk and veins this gavel has been made for you.

The eternal laws of compensation in the end work out all things aright and the "mills of the gods" though slow, oftentimes grind exceeding sure.

With this gavel is also presented the correspondence, clippings and illustrations incident to the life of L'Enfant and the removal of his remains from Green Hill to the rotunda of the United States Capitol and thence to Arlington National Cemetery.

## ACCEPTANCE OF GAVEL ON BEHALF OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

BY HON. JOB BARNARD, VICE-PRESIDENT.

*Mr. President:* The Columbia Historical Society, through its board of managers, has instructed me to accept this beautiful gift so kindly presented by you, and I do so, with many thanks to you for your thoughtfulness in procuring and presenting the same.

It seems proper for a historical society to possess such a gavel, not alone for its use in preserving order, but because it suggests the historical character whose unmarked grave it so long guarded and identified. Major L'Enfant ought to be remembered with gratitude by all true Americans, for the splendid services performed by him during the Revolutionary War. His life began at an interesting period in our history, in 1755, the year that General Braddock marched to Fort Duquesne, and General Washington's military experience prepared him to take command of the continental armies. He was educated and trained in France, as a soldier and an engineer, and came to our country with General Lafayette in 1777, to fight and work for our cause, to be wounded at the siege of Savannah, and to become Washington's chief of engineers, and the designer of many strong fortifications. This noble service should cause his memory to be cherished by any historical society, if he had never planned the federal city; but to our local society, having planned this capital, is enough to make his memory dear to us, although he had done nothing more.

In this connection, I wish to say that it was his pride

and zeal for the preservation of this plan, his loyalty to his ideal of the city of Washington, that caused his dismissal, for he was asked by the commissioners to allow his plan to be engraved and published in aid of a public sale of lots. This he refused, asserting as his reason, that speculators would purchase the best locations in the "vistas and architectural squares" and "permanently disfigure the city" by "huddles of shanties." His opposition to this public sale, and his refusal to contribute to aid it, caused his dismissal by President Washington.

I quote a paragraph from page 102 of the centennial history of the city of Washington, published in 1892, in which the writer says, referring to Major L'Enfant:

"At this late date, and in the presence of the fruition of his great plan, it is not difficult to draw a veil over the weaknesses and foibles of this brilliant and enthusiastic Frenchman. He had manifested his gallantry on the battlefields of the Revolution. He showed to the world how great was his faith in the stability of our institutions and the future progress of his adopted country in the plan he devised for its future Capital, and his loyalty never flagged under the pressure of what must have seemed to him ingratitude and neglect. Somewhere in our beautiful city there will some day arise a proper monument to the man who deserves so much at the hand of every true American."

May we not say, with truth, that during the seventeen years since this prophecy was made, that "proper monument" has already appeared in the rapid development of this city, on the lines of his magnificent plan; and when the same is finally completed, no man can have a more appropriate or distinguished monument than this city of Washington will be for the man in whose brain it first took shape.

## REMARKS.

BY MR. GLENN BROWN.

Although the work of L'Enfant has been described repeatedly before this Society, it will not be amiss to briefly outline it again.

The original plan of the city of Washington was matured by Pierre Charles L'Enfant after studied investigation of the site by George Washington and himself, and after a careful consideration of the existing as well as many proposed plans of the Old World cities. In the preparation of this plan the location of the buildings and parks was mapped out on broad and effective lines, so as to attain harmony as well as utility in grouping the whole scheme into one unit.

Prominent points were selected for the principal buildings and proposed monuments. Stretching from the site of the capitol to the site of a proposed monument, the broad reach of the Mall was planned, and crossing at right angles to this site was the axis of the executive mansion and park. Radiating streets from central points with buildings or monuments at the end of pleasing vistas formed another feature of special beauty. The fundamental idea of the scheme was a dignified, formal and artistic approach and setting for these principal architectural monuments.

The plan was not copied from any existing city. The radiating streets and vistas of modern Paris were all devised under the two Napoleons, and L'Enfant's and Washington's plan was drawn in 1791.

The plan of the streets with their noble vistas and the outlines of the park system were executed, and the

capitol and executive mansion were built on the sites selected. The general design suggested buildings on the north and south of the Mall which was evidently intended to be an open space with boulevard ornamented with planting, sculpture and objects of art similar to the grand openings in Versailles and Fontainebleau, which give such magnificent views of the buildings, and form such a far-reaching vista of exquisite beauty.

A great principle, a noble work never dies—ridiculed, ignored, apparently forgotten, it lives to grow with fresh vigor and new strength. L'Enfant, existing and buried by the charity of appreciative friends, ill-treated and ignored by his government, his work ridiculed by succeeding generations, left the nation its greatest artistic heritage—a harmonious, artistic and noble plan for a capital city; the key note of the commission's plan for the future development of our city; the inspiration for city planning development from Boston to New Orleans, from New York to Seattle. The revival of the L'Enfant plan has been a wave of enthusiasm from east to west, from north to south. Civilized Europe praises it without stint. Far-away Japan expresses its hearty appreciation.

Dying in poverty, his name lives in the civilized world. The true principles—harmony and beauty—of his are an inspiration to all people—seeking harmony and beauty in city plans, and this movement is world-wide.

Eighty years his plan was forgotten. Fifteen years ago the subject of going back to his plan for the future development of the city was brought forward, and the result has been wonderful in its effectiveness.

L'Enfant lives in the spirit. His remains ~~were~~ transferred from their resting place on the Diggles

farm, all of which your President has told you. The great men of this and foreign nations expressed their appreciation during the ceremonies in the rotunda of the capitol, and he was buried with military honors on the hillside at Arlington, from which we can imagine his spirit overlooking the growth and development of his plan in all its beauty and harmony.

Congress appropriated one thousand dollars for a monument to L'Enfant. The Beaux Arts Society of Architects (architects who have attended the Beaux Arts in Paris) offered to hold a competition and furnish the design with compensation for the monument.

Mr. Macfarland accepted this offer, making the selection subject to the approval of the President and Secretary of the American Institute of Architects, and I have with me here the design which was approved, a simple type of the tomb of the period when L'Enfant was with us.

His greatest monument is the city which he planned. Our highest tribute to him will be its development and completion on the lines approved. Both his name and legacy will live as long as we are a nation.

## HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE UNITARIAN CHURCH OF WASHINGTON, D. C.

BY MRS. JENNIE W. SCUDDER.

(Read before the Society, November 9, 1909.)

The Unitarian Church of Washington, D. C., had its beginning in 1820, when a small congregation met to listen to the preaching of Robert Little in a room over some public baths on C Street, between Four and one-half and Sixth Streets.

This congregation consisted of some of the most intelligent and cultivated families of the young capital. Several had been drawn to Unitarianism by the preaching of Edward Everett in the hall of the House of Representatives; others were English people who had been Unitarians in their native land, and friends there, as here, of Dr. Joseph Priestley. Mr. Little himself was one of these and he had experienced the injustice, both social and political, which England inflicted upon dissenters. He had been educated in the Established Church, but having become convinced of the truth in Unitarianism he had espoused the belief with its attendant inconveniences. To escape these he came to America and had become according to some accounts a merchant in Washington, according to others, a clerk in governmental employ.

His preaching had attracted some notice in England, especially a sermon, delivered in Birmingham, entitled "The Decline and Fall of Spiritual Babylon," which dealt with the unjust treatment of dissenters.

Knowing these things of him, it was natural that the little company who wished to exercise their priv-

ilege of freedom in religious worship thought of him as a leader and thus began the meetings on C Street. The desire and need for a more positive assertion of the new religious idea grew, and a meeting was called for July 31, 1820, to consider the matter. Notice of the calling of the meeting, and of its proceedings was made in the local papers which reported that on motion of William Eliot it was

*"Resolved*, that it is expedient that measures be taken for erecting a church upon Unitarian principles in the city of Washington; and also that a meeting be held August 6, to concert measures for carrying into effect the above resolution."

In November, 1821, the congregation organized as "The First Unitarian Church," with Mr. Little as pastor. A constitution was also drawn up and adopted. The number of members was twenty-five, among whom were Jno. Quincy Adams, Jno. C. Calhoun, William Winston Seaton, Joseph Gales, Sr., and Joseph Gales, Jr., William Eliot, Charles Bulfinch, Jno. F. Webb, C. S. Fowler and Judge Wm. Cranch, all now well known in denominational, local and national history.

On June 9, 1822, a church building for use by the new society was dedicated. This result had not been accomplished without hard work and some anxiety on the part of the congregation and its minister.

Among those in Washington who contributed liberally were Mr. Calhoun and the eccentric but brilliant Englishman, Thomas Law. Mr. Calhoun is said by Mrs. Seaton to have remarked when making his contribution that "Unitarianism is the true faith and must ultimately prevail over the world." Some financial help came from the North and some from Baltimore, but not enough to prevent years of pecuniary struggle for the little First Church. Nor was the church established

without some excitement in orthodox circles which found expression in articles in magazines and newspapers. These were answered and the cause defended by Jared Sparks, then lately ordained Unitarian minister in Baltimore and in 1821 elected chaplain of the House of Representatives.

The church records give, in addition to the names already mentioned, those of Moses Poor, D. F. May, N. P. Poor, Noah Fletcher, Richard Wallach, Robert Little, Seth Hyatt, C. Andrews, S. Robinson, Pishey Thompson, Thomas Bates, A. B. Waller, Thos. C. Wright, M. Claxton and S. Franklin.

At the dedication of the First Church the sermon given by Mr. Little ended thus:

"These walls I trust will bear witness that our lives have not been altogether useless to mankind. Some, I hope may be better and wiser for our exertions in the cause of truth. If not in an obvious and direct manner, yet in some effectual way, may we have served our generation, and promoted the knowledge, the service and the will of the one true God."

The building stood on the corner of Sixth and D Streets, which was then considered a convenient and suitable place. It was designed by the famous architect Charles Bulfinch, and marked, at the time of its completion, a decided advance in architectural excellence in this city. It served its purpose as a Unitarian church for fifty-five years.

By the early seventies, the growth of the capital city had rendered the location undesirable, and the possibility of removal to a spot farther from the center of the city's activities began to be considered. With the help of the denomination at large and of the American Unitarian Association such removal was brought about, and on June 27, 1877, the corner stone of a new church building was laid at the southeast corner of Fourteenth

and L Streets. In the meantime the First Church had reorganized under the name of All Souls' Church, and as such it has been known since the dedication of the new building on January 29, 1878.

The sermon on that occasion was delivered by Rev. Henry W. Bellows, minister of All Souls' Church of New York City and of national fame as president of the United States Sanitary Commission during the Civil War. The opening of that sermon proved that Dr. Bellows, at least, believed that the First Church had lived up to Mr. Little's hope for it a half century before, since he said:

"If the shining record of the men of influence, culture and character; women of dignity, purity, and saintliness, who have witnessed their faith in its truth and power, and borne the cross of its reputed heresy—if this record could be properly read here and now, it would prove how great and good is the company already translated to which you belong."

The sermon ended with this petition:

"May this church stand openly, and while its walls shall endure, the church of those who honor and practise the widest and most searching use of God's greatest gift—Reason."

After the removal to Fourteenth and L Streets, the First Church building was rented to the District government. Later it was bought by that government and used as a police court, until torn down in 1906 to make way for a more suitable structure.

Such has been the physical development of Unitarianism in Washington.

The First Church was distinctive in that it was from the beginning Unitarian and not an orthodox society liberalized. It ranks among the earliest churches with this distinction; those of Baltimore, Md., and Charleston, S. C., having been founded in 1817, while the first

Unitarian Church in New York City was dedicated only six months before that of Washington. To Philadelphia belongs the honor of having built and dedicated in 1813 the first church in America for Unitarian worship. This was brought about by a body of devoted laymen, among whom was Joseph Gales, Sr., whose name is found among the original members of the First Church of Washington.

Mr. Gales had been obliged to leave England because of his liberal political ideas, sacrificing thereby his well-established business of publisher, bookseller and editor of the *Sheffield Register* in the city of that name. His religious ideas were no less liberal and unpopular. He came to Philadelphia and soon lent his aid to the formation of the first Unitarian Church in that city. He was the personal friend of Dr. Priestley, who had baptized his older children in their native England. His son, Joseph Gales, Jr., took the more active part for the faith in Washington, and his daughter, Mrs. Sarah Gales Seaton, and her husband, the brilliant editor, Wm. W. Seaton, were also active promoters of Unitarianism here.

Joseph Gales, Jr., and Mr. Seaton were the proprietors and editors of the *National Intelligencer*, the pioneer newspaper of Washington. Mr. Gales was a clear thinker and a strong writer, though he himself insisted that he could not write as well as Mr. Seaton. He was first to make stenographic reports of congressional debates.

Mr. Seaton served several terms as Mayor of Washington, was the intimate friend of Daniel Webster and knew well many of the most celebrated men of his time. The association of these two gentlemen, which began at Raleigh, N. C., in the early life of both, matured into a relationship almost closer than that of brotherhood

in its unity, or identity of purposes, opinions and interests.

Messrs. Gales and Seaton with the public spirit that always characterized them, had been contributors to the building of St. John's Church a few years before the foundation of the First Unitarian Church.

As given in the list of original members of the First Church, the names of Jno. Quincy Adams and Jno. C. Calhoun speak for themselves as to character and social position, both at that time members of the cabinet of President Monroe.

William Eliot interests us chiefly because he was father of his son, Wm. Eliot, Jr., although he was himself a man of culture and ability who had come from New England to Washington to take a governmental position.

His son, Wm. Eliot, Jr., though born and educated in New England, lived in this city for a short time, married here and went hence a pioneer to St. Louis, Mo., to enter there upon a career which brought him enduring local and national fame. Besides being for many years pastor of a Unitarian church in St. Louis, Mr. Eliot was, during the war, president of the Western Branch of the Sanitary Commission, was founder of Washington University in St. Louis, and deserved more than anyone else to be called the father of the public school system of Missouri.

C. S. Fowler, Noah Fletcher, John F. Webb and Joseph Gales, Sr., are still represented by descendants in the membership of All Souls' Church.

In presenting a memorial window, in honor of his mother, to All Souls' Church, Mr. Francis Ormond French said of that part of its history represented by these and some other old Washington families:

"The period was one of feebleness for the society. It was misunderstood and misrepresented in the community and at times political dissensions threatened its existence. But the families of Seaton, both Taylors, Purdy, Brown, Adams, Webb, the venerable Jno. Quincy Adams, Judge Cranch and Mr. Fillmore during his presidency stood together in the old church edifice as in a strong fortress."

Mr. Little's pastorate lasted about six years, as he died at Harrisburg, Pa., whither he had gone for a visit, and where he was buried, in 1827. Mr. Little had a reputation for eloquence which attracted outsiders, even those of high degree. Mrs. Seaton in a letter to her parents in 1824 said:

"Lafayette goes with us next Sunday to the Unitarian Church, being desirous of hearing Mr. Little of whose fervid eloquence he has heard so much."

He was several times asked by the Speaker of the House to preach in the hall of representatives. On one of these occasions he spoke on "Religious Liberty and Unitarianism Vindicated," and at another time on "The Duty of Public Usefulness." A copy of this sermon may be read at the Library of Congress, and the former may be found in the Library of All Souls' Church. He was not averse to the discussion of current topics in his pulpit, and once delivered a sermon, which was spoken of thirty-eight years afterward, by Mr. Seaton as "a grand sermon, depicting with prophetic force the evils of General Jackson's election." He evidently had a diversity of gifts, being devoted to literature and natural science. He was editor during its brief existence of the *Washington Quarterly Magazine*, which was devoted apparently to whatever promoted the agricultural, commercial and manufacturing interests of the country. It was earnest in advocating

the cutting of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, and it announced in each number the issue of patents for the intervening period. In it were also published monthly meteorological records made by its editor. Mr. Little is said to have been instrumental in the foundation of the Botanical Garden. At his death very kindly things were said of him, by people of other religious denominations who seemed to value him for his sincerity of life.

The name of Bulfinch occurs not only in the history of the laity of the First Church, but in that of the ministry as well. Stephen G. Bulfinch, son of the celebrated architect, was minister of the church from 1838 to 1844. If pride in regard to the membership of the church is pardonable it is equally so in regard to the pulpit. Here Edward Everett Hale began the career which took him into national and universal rank as preacher, author and philanthropist. From its pulpit also spoke Samuel Longfellow for a short time only, but long enough to deliver his soul of its burden on the subject of slavery. Here at different periods preached Orville Dewey to large congregations who listened to his eloquent presentation of a practical rather than a dogmatic Christianity.

From 1847 to 1850 Joseph Henry Allen was minister, during a season of more or less anxiety because of the narrow means of the society. After leaving Washington Mr. Allen became distinguished as author, editor and lecturer on history in the Divinity School of Harvard University. College students of a generation ago may discover in him the author of many of the Latin text-books used in their classical course, but this authorship was a minor incident in a life rich in scholarly and literary attainment.

The name of Channing, synonymous in the Unitarian

mind with liberal mindedness and philanthropy, was worthily borne by the minister of the First Church in 1861. This man was Wm. Henry Channing, nephew of Wm. Ellery Channing. Here he practiced as well as preached the principles which his family and his denomination have considered essential to Christian citizenship. It was he who gave the church to the government for use as a hospital during the Civil War. Being thus deprived of a meeting place the congregation was invited to meet in the House of Representatives, which invitation it accepted.

Much of Mr. Channing's life was spent in England, where he preached in Liverpool and London. Rev. Jno. W. Chadwick has said of him:

"He was a profound and passionate idealist. Transcendentalism, socialism and anti-slavery—to each he abandoned himself simultaneously with an ardor and a passion not exceeded by the leaders on these lines. Religious socialism was the dream that unified the variety of his experience. What he cared for most was the sense of universal brotherhood. His most successful settlement was in Washington, D. C., during the Civil War. There for once was complete adjustment between the man and his environment—as minister of the Unitarian Church, converting its building into a hospital; as a worker in the Sanitary Commission; as chaplain of the House of Representatives his heart was wholly in his work."

Mr. Channing's immediate predecessor as settled minister was Moncure D. Conway, who perhaps alone has represented the South in the Unitarian pulpit of Washington.

Probably no greater enthusiasm ever inspired a minister there than that of the young Virginian, who, having overcome tradition by reason, in both religion and politics, was fired by such a zeal for absolute right as to make him intolerant of compromise and possibly

impolitic in method. His utterances on the slavery question brought about his dismissal as minister. Throughout a long, wandering, intensely interesting life, the bond of friendship between himself and some of his former parishioners remained unbroken. To them he was the lovable friend, to the world he was the radical and somewhat eccentric thinker, the impulsive actor, the interesting writer, who must in fairness be set down as "one who loved his fellow men."

From 1821 to 1909 the Unitarian pulpit has been occupied, for longer or shorter periods, by nineteen ministers. They were, according to Dr. Shippen's statement, Robert Little, Andrew Bigelow, Cazeneau Palfrey, Frederic Farley, Stephen Bulfinch, Edward Everett Hale, Orville Dewey, Samuel Longfellow, Joseph Henry Allen, Moncure D. Conway, Wm. H. Channing, Rufus P. Stebbins, Wm. Sharman, Frederic Hinckley, Clay MacCauley, and Rush R. Shippen, and since the last named have come E. B. Leavitt and Ulysses G. P. Pierce. Not all of these were settled as pastors. Those thus far specially mentioned have been the more widely known, but others during those early days contributed no less sincerely to the establishment in the national capital of the "sweet reasonableness" of a liberal faith.

Rev. Clay MacCauley preached the last sermon in the First Church, and was installed minister of All Souls' January 30, 1877. After leaving Washington, Mr. MacCauley was sent by the denomination to explain and to represent the Unitarian conception of Christianity to the then just awakening nation of Japan. He is still living and has occupied the pulpit of All Souls' once during the last year.

In 1881 Rev. Rush R. Shippen was chosen minister, and in his pastorate of fourteen years the Unitarian

Church entered upon a more active life than had previously been hers. During this time, by arrangement between the church and the American Unitarian Association, prominent Unitarian ministers were heard here in the winter months.

Dr. Shippen is vividly and kindly remembered by his parishioners, while as a citizen he made an impression on municipal life.

To him succeeded E. Bradford Leavitt for a term of three years, who was in turn succeeded by Ulysses G. B. Pierce installed as minister April 11, 1901.

The character of the membership or laity of the Unitarian Church did not change when the name of All Souls' was adopted. The two presidents who attended the First Church, John Quincy Adams and Millard Fillmore, are succeeded by William Howard Taft. Senators Webster, Sumner, Hale of New Hampshire have been followed by Senators Hoar, Morrill of Vermont, Howe, Anthony, Allison, Mason, Palmer, Burrows and Fletcher. From the House of Representatives may be mentioned, among others, no doubt, Davis, Stone, Palfrey, Elliot, Stevens, Adams, Wm. Everett, Banks, Baker, the younger Hoar, Mann, Horr, Weeks and Roberts. Of cabinet secretaries there have been N. H. Hall, George S. Boutwell, Wm. E. Chandler and John D. Long. In the judiciary, Associate Justice Story of the Supreme Court of the United States has been followed by Associate Justice Samuel F. Miller, while Judge Cranch from the District Court has had a successor in Judge Richardson.

The historian George Bancroft was an attendant at both churches.

Dorman B. Eaton, civil service reformer; Carroll D. Wright, authority in economics, and Lester F. Ward, celebrated in sociology, have been more or less active members of All Souls'.

Ainsworth R. Spofford and Bernard R. Green from the Library of Congress, and George F. Bowerman, librarian of the Public Library of Washington, represent these two institutions.

From the Navy have come Woodhull, Walker, Evans, Schroeder, Wainwright, Taussig, Deering, Hanscom, Cutter, Canaga, Pook, Bright and Flint; from the Army, Saxton, Smith, Greeley, Wood, Baxter, Pelouze, Tanner and Woodruff.

The scientific world has been most ably represented by Asaph Hall, William Ferrel, Spencer F. Baird and Charles V. Riley, while living representatives are Henry S. Pritchett (during his residence here), Dr. Robert S. Woodward, Dr. Wm. H. Dall and Prof. F. W. Clarke. Indeed, the list of scientific names worthy of mention is too long to be given in entirety.

Moncure D. Conway has mentioned as one of his hearers Helen Hunt, wife of Lieutenant Hunt, and has spoken of her as a bright vivacious woman, inclined to ridicule any one with a mission. Being led by great sorrow to a more serious view of life she became the apostle of justice to the American Indian. Later she married Mr. Jackson, and was well known under the nom de plume of H. H.

While in Congress, Horace Greeley was an attendant of the First Church. He was present when Mr. Conway preached his decisive sermon on slavery, and reported it to the *New York Tribune*.

The administration of a religious society has to do with other things besides preaching and listening to preaching, and for its success there is necessary an efficient business organization. The Unitarian Church in Washington has been fortunate in selecting for trustees men and women of executive ability, versed in the traditions of Unitarianism and imbued with faith in

its future. In the records one finds often mentioned as trustees, Henry A. Willard, S. R. Bond, Bernard R. Green, Carroll D. Wright, Geo. N. French, J. B. T. Tupper, Geo. A. King, H. W. Blount, Edward A. Fay, James F. Hood, Myron M. Parker, Jas. A. Sample, Mrs. Admiral Jno. G. Walker, Mrs. Lucy S. Doolittle and Mrs. Thomas M. Gale. It has been their policy to regulate the financial affairs of the society by the rules that govern those of secular or commercial institutions.

With good preaching and sound financing a church is well equipped, but it is still necessary that the members be ready and quick to follow their leaders, or even to suggest means and methods for efficient promulgation and practice of the principles professed. In short a Unitarian church must show by its life in a community that its professions are not vain. Therefore this Unitarian church has tried always to be engaged in some work for humanity, this effort finding its latest expression in the support for the last nine years of one of the nurses employed by the Instructive Visiting Nurse Association, the salary of \$780 being paid by the congregation of All Souls' and all the appliances for her work also being furnished.

For some years free kindergartens for poor colored and white children were carried on by the Charity Committee of All Souls', who have been led to think that their efforts in that line hastened the adoption of that method of education by the school authorities of the District.

The trustees have contributed to the industrial schools at Calhoun, Ala., and Manassas, Va. Its ministers and some of its members have held important positions in the management of the latter school.

Since its formation in 1890, the "Lend a Hand" Club of girls and young women has been engaged in

humanitarian work, its latest enterprise being the furnishing of a room in the Homeopathic Hospital of this city.

By way of social and intellectual development there have been established various clubs and societies, not all of which have survived. One of the first of these was the Unity Club, organized in the First Church, but for many years dissociated from the Unitarian Church.

In 1878 was formed the Parish Union having charge of social gatherings.

The Twentieth Century Club dates from 1891, composed of women of the church and others in sympathy with its object, which is "the promotion of liberal thought and philanthropy in a broad sense."

The Women's Alliance is more strictly denominational, having to do with the planting and fostering of Unitarian churches in different places, and with the extension of a knowledge of Unitarianism by means of its Post Office Mission.

In December, 1902, the men of All Souls' organized The Unitarian Club of Washington. Carroll D. Wright, Wm. E. Chandler, Gen. A. W. Greeley and Delbert H. Decker have acted as presidents of the club.

The Young People's Union, a branch of a national organization, holds services every Sunday evening. To it must be given credit for the only expression of Unitarianism in Washington during the summer months.

To the proper conduct of a Sunday-school the church has given considerable attention, which has resulted in the adoption of a graded course of study from kindergarten up to mature years. A class of adults pursues the comparative study of religion, while another occupies itself with the more metaphysical study of the

works of Emerson. Since 1896 Edward B. Eynon has been superintendent of the school.

The esthetic sense of the church has always demanded good music as an essential in the successful conduct of religious services. It is said that on the dedication day of the First Church the music was a great surprise to the audience because of its excellence. The standard then set has been well maintained and the choir of All Souls' has always contained some of the best musical talent of the city. Its present director and soprano singer, Mrs. H. C. Browning, and its organist, Dr. Geo. Walter, have for several years contributed greatly to its effectiveness. Mr. Hitz, a member of the First Church, left a bequest of \$1,000 for providing suitable music. This was used toward payment of the organ of All Souls' Church.

A historic church needs some relics or heirlooms to complete its interest and the Unitarian Church is not lacking in this respect. Chief of these is the church bell. When the First Church was furnished except as to a bell a subscription was taken to supply that need and many eminent people are said to have contributed. The bell was made in the foundry established by Paul Revere near Boston. Dr. Shippen has said of it:

"Down to 1861 it was rung for public purposes. I am informed that it tolled a requiem for John Brown on the day of his death. Thenceforward it was denounced by some as an abolition bell and in the exciting time of 1861 its use by the city authorities was discontinued."

The communion service also dates from the early days of the church. The flagon was given to the church by Charles and Hannah Bulfinch. It had been presented to Mr. Bulfinch by the Unitarian Church of Dorchester, Mass., in gratitude for the very satisfactory

plan made by him for that church building. It bears the name of Revere as maker. The plates of the service were given by Mrs. W. D. Stroud, and are made from silver used in the family of her aunts, Mrs. Nancy M. Johnson and Miss Mary Donaldson. In presenting them Mrs. Stroud said that she did it "as a memorial of their faithful devotion to the liberal faith and of their interest and share in promoting its growth in this community."

Not quite so interesting, yet valuable, is the pulpit of the First Church which stands in the chapel of All Souls'.

The baptismal font in All Souls' was given by Miss Alice Adams and the Bible by Mrs. Geo. Deering. Memorial windows have been presented by descendants of several of the early families of the church, while others have hung memorial tablets upon its walls.

The Unitarian Church of Washington has been proud, and rightly so, of the fact that three so celebrated men as John Quincy Adams, Jno. C. Calhoun and Millard Fillmore have been her adherents. To find these names counted among the regular attendants of an orthodox church of this city is somewhat disconcerting to the enthusiastic but not well-informed devotee, while to the impartial seeker for information it is misleading if stated without explanation.

The prominence lately given to Unitarianism generally and to the church in Washington particularly has given rise to statements of which it may not be improper to take notice in a historical sketch which is intended to be correct. One of these published in a local paper asserts that "while there have been Unitarian presidents there is no record of any president having attended the Unitarian Church"; and that "there is no

assertion that the later Adams and Millard Fillmore attended the church after its establishment in 1821."

Concerning Mr. Adams, this statement seems to be refuted by the following passage from the journal of that gentleman. Noting therein the death of Rev. Robert Little in 1827, Mr. Adams said:

"This is a fact greatly to be lamented by his congregation of whom I was one. I had constantly attended on his ministrations for the last seven years."

The Rev. Joseph Henry Allen, minister of the First Unitarian Church at the time of Mr. Adams' death in a memorial sermon to him on February 27, 1848, said:

"We fondly remember how but a few weeks since neither age nor feebleness, nor storm, nor darkness detained him from his accustomed place on the Lord's day."

From his "Memoirs" one learns that Mr. Adams often attended the afternoon service at St. John's, and that he also often attended the Presbyterian Church. Mr. Adams was essentially devout, but a lover of argument as well, and frequent church going may have been necessary to him for mental stimulus as well as for spiritual comfort. He was a daily reader of the Bible and confessed that he had tried hard to believe the doctrine of the trinity, because certain passages in the New Testament seemed to countenance it. But his caustic comments on a sermon on that subject which he heard at St. John's in 1839, indicate very clearly the conclusion at which he had arrived in regard to the matter. The peculiar tenets of Calvinism were no less mercilessly criticised by him in writing of a sermon he heard in the Presbyterian Church, December 3, 1837—both dates later than his presidency. Mr. Adams was also critical of sermons he heard from Mr. Little, and charged him on one occasion with not having respect

enough for his text. The sermon was on miracles and was delivered November 12, 1826. He speaks in his autobiography also of the fact of Mr. Little's objection to the baptism of children as "one of Mr. Little's great errors." This was apropos of his having attended the First Church when Mr. Mott baptized several children.

Mr. Adams resented unjust or flippant criticism of Unitarians, as is amusingly shown in his treatment of Mr. Tazewell of Virginia. That gentleman when dining with Mr. Adams, remarked that Tokay and Rhenish wine tasted exactly alike; whereupon his host asserted that he did not believe that Mr. Tazewell had ever tasted a drop of genuine Tokay wine. But Mr. Adams was so troubled over his rudeness to a guest, that he sent Mr. Tazewell a note of apology. Recording the incident in his journal he said:

"I was moved to speak as I did because Mr. Tazewell had said that he never knew a Unitarian who did not believe in the Sea Serpent."

When in Congress and while Vice-President Millard Fillmore retained and paid for a pew in the First Church. Upon his succession to the presidency, and after the settlement of his invalid wife and family in the White House he accepted the offer made him by St. John's Church of a pew there, as he said because of its nearness to his home and greater convenience for his family. Whether this action was the courtesy to fashion that is sometimes made by those in high places; or was the result of political wounds received in the house of his friends, can not here be stated, but it probably was taken as he said for the convenience of his family. Mr. Fillmore's Unitarianism was of two long standing to be impeached by, nor did his attend-

ance at the First Church cease with, his acceptance of a pew elsewhere.

The fact that Jno. C. Calhoun was also an attendant at St. John's might seem to nullify the claim which the Unitarian Church makes upon him. His biographer, Mr. Gaillard Hunt, says:

"Unitarianism attracted him as it did many of the public men of his day; he contributed to the erection of the First Unitarian Church in Washington and had a pew there. Notwithstanding this he commonly attended the Episcopal Church of which his wife was a member. He was raised in the Presbyterian Church."

The Seaton biographical sketch speaks of him as "a warm friend and consistent adherent of Unitarianism."

The growth of the Unitarian Church from its original 25 members to the 430 families entirely or in part recorded in the church yearbook for 1909, has been in the main peaceful. In Mr. Conway's time the question of slavery caused serious trouble. About the time of the reorganization into All Souls' Church there was some friction, but most of the differences in opinion among members, whether as to belief or administration, were gradually accommodated or forgotten.

At present, and may it long be so, All Souls' Unitarian Church stands four-square to the world with "all the windows of her soul wide open to the day"; which is to say that she is ever ready to lend a hand in the world's work, and that she is on the watch for new truth, whose coming she will welcome with hospitality. The effect of the present ministry is plainly seen in increased numbers, and an intenser conviction, individually and collectively, of the necessity of a pure and an applied Christianity.

Conscious of late extraneous advertisement she will strive more earnestly to justify her existence by "translating into life" the two commandments which may be called the canons of her faith, viz.: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul and with all thy mind and with all thy strength"; and the no less important one: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."



## **APPENDIX.**

## OFFICERS.

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### OFFICERS ELECTED AT THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING HELD JANUARY 11, 1910.

<i>President</i> .....	JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN.
<i>Vice-Presidents</i> .....	{ JOB BARNARD, ALLEN C. CLARK.
<i>Treasurer</i> .....	WILLIAM HENRY DENNIS.
<i>Recording Secretary</i> .....	MRS. MARY STEVENS BEALL.
<i>Corresponding Secretary</i> .....	MICHAEL I. WELLER.
<i>Curator</i> .....	JAMES FRANKLIN HOOD.
<i>Chronicler</i> .....	MRS. MADISON A. BALLINGER.
<i>Managers classified according to expiration of term of service</i> .....	{ 1911 { MRS. CHAS. W. RICHARDSON, E. FRANCIS RIGGS. 1912 { JOHN B. LARNER, HUGH T. TAGGART. 1913 { WILHELMUS B. BRYAN, WILLIAM VAN ZANDT COX. 1914 { LOUIS P. SHOEMAKER, JOHN JOY EDSON.

## COMMITTEES.

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### *On Communications.*

ALLEN C. CLARK, *Chairman*, F. A. RICHARDSON,  
W. B. BRYAN, JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN,  
CLARENCE R. WILSON, CHARLES S. BRADLEY,  
L. P. SHOEMAKER.

### *On Qualifications.*

M. I. WELLER, *Chairman*, JOHN JOY EDSON,  
WILLIAM V. COX, WILLIAM HENRY DENNIS,  
MRS. MADISON A. BALLINGER.

### *On Publication.*

JOHN B. LARNER, *Chairman*, CHARLES H. WALSH,  
MRS. MARY STEVENS BEALL, S. WALTER WOODWARD,  
JAMES DUDLEY MORGAN, W. B. BRYAN.

### *On Building.*

JOB BARNARD, *Chairman*, GEORGE M. KOBER,  
CHARLES JAMES BELL, JOHN TAYLOR ARMS,  
CHARLES C. GLOVER, GLENN BROWN,  
MRS. CHARLES W. RICHARDSON.

### *On Exchange.*

JAMES F. HOOD, *Chairman*, HUGH T. TAGGART,  
E. FRANCIS RIGGS, G. LLOYD MAGRUDER,  
LEROY STAFFORD BOYD, MONTGOMERY BLAIR.

### *On Membership.*

WILLIAM HENRY DENNIS, *Chairman*.

CHARLES S. BUNDY, EDSON L. WHITNEY,  
BARRY BULKLEY, CLARENCE B. RHEEM,  
MISS CORDELIA JACKSON, MISS MAUD B. MORRIS,  
WALTER C. CLEPHANE, MISS J. E. PRATHER,  
MRS. M. B. DOWNING, JOHN A. SAUL.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL  
SOCIETY, MARCH 15, 1910.

(Names of Life Members are printed in SMALL CAPITALS.)

Abell, Walter W.,	<i>Sun</i> Bldg., Baltimore, Md.
Abert, William Stone,	1520 K St.
Addison, Mrs. Clare G.,	1765 N St.
Anderson, Thomas H.,	1531 New Hampshire Ave.
Arms, John Taylor,	1800 New Hampshire Ave.
Ashford, Mrs. Isabella W.,	1763 P St.
Baker, John A.,	1819 H St.
Ballinger, Mrs. Madison A.,	1534 Twenty-eighth St.
Barbour, James F.,	1741 Rhode Island Ave.
Barnard, Job,	1306 Rhode Island Ave.
Beall, Mrs. Mary Stevens,	1643 Wisconsin Ave.
Bell, Charles James,	1327 Connecticut Ave.
Blagden, Thomas,	"Argyle," Fourteenth St. ext.
Blair, Henry P.,	Colorado Building.
Blair, John S.,	1416 F St.
Blair, Montgomery,	Corcoran Building.
Blount, Henry Fitch,	"The Oaks," 3101 R St.
Boyd, Leroy Stafford,	312 C St.
Bradley, Charles S.,	1722 N St.
Brice, Arthur T.,	1711 M St.
Britton, Alexander,	1419 F St.
Brown, Chapin,	323 John Marshall Place.
Brown, Glenn,	1925 I St.
Brown, Miss Mary Perry,	1865 Mintwood Place.
Browne, Aldis B.,	1843 Wyoming Ave.
Bryan (M.D.), Joseph H.,	818 Seventeenth St.
Bryan, Wilhelmus Bogart,	1330 Eighteenth St.
Bukley, Mrs. Jean Magruder,	Barcroft, Alexandria Co., Va.
Bulkley, Barry,	1612 I St.
Bundy, Charles S.,	315 John Marshall Place.
Butterfield, John W.,	419 Fourth St.

Byrns (M.D.), Wm. Francis,	1923 Calvert St.
Carr, Mrs. William Kearny,	1413 K St.
Chilton, Robert S., Jr.,	U. S. Consulate, Toronto, Can.
Church, William A. H.,	912 B St., S. W.
Clark, Allen C.,	816 Fourteenth St.
Clark, Appleton P., Jr.,	1762 Lanier Ave.
Clephane, Walter C.,	1747 Corcoran St.
Coe, Charles H.,	Langdon, D. C.
Conrad, Holmes,	1421 K St.
Cook (M.D.), George Wythe,	3 Thomas Circle.
Corning, John Herbert,	815 Vermont Ave.
Cox, William Van Zandt,	Second National Bank.
Coyle, Miss Emily B.,	1760 N St.
Craig, Miss Netta,	3125 O St.
Cull, Judson T.,	319 John Marshall Place.
Curry, Miss Cora C.,	1710 Corcoran St.
Curtis, William Eleroy,	1801 Connecticut Ave.
Dale, Mrs. Mary J. M.,	Chihuahua, Mexico.
Davenport, R. Graham, U.S.N.,	1331 Eighteenth St.
Davidson, H. Bradley,	1405 G St.
Davis, Miss Adelaide,	213 C St., S. E.
Davis, Eldred G.,	2211 R St.
Davis, Madison,	316 A St., S. E.
DeLacy, William H.,	Juvenile Court.
Dennis, William Henry,	416 Fifth St.
Dent, Louis Addison,	Fendall Bldg.
Devine, John T.,	The Shoreham.
Devitt (S.J.), Rev. Edward I.,	Georgetown University.
Dixon, William Suel, U.S.N.,	c/o Navy Depart., Wash., D. C.
Dove, J. Maury,	1741 New Hampshire Ave.
Downing, Mrs. Margaret B.,	1262 Lawrence St., Brookland, D. C.
Dunlap, G. Thomas,	Fendall Building.
Eaton, George G.,	1324 South Capitol St.
Edson, John Joy,	1324 Sixteenth St.
Fishback, Fred L.,	907 S St.
Flannery, J. S.,	2017 O St.
Flather, William J.,	Riggs Nat. Bank.

Fletcher, Miss Alice C.,	214 First St., S. E.
Gale, Thomas M.,	2300 S St.
Glennan, John W.,	Warder Building.
Glover, Charles C.,	1703 K St.
Granger, John Tileston,	1838 Connecticut Ave.
Griffin, Alfred P. C.,	Library of Congress.
Hagner, Alexander Burton,	1818 H St.
Hamilton, George E.,	Union Trust Bldg.
Hannay, Wm. Mouat,	532 Third St.
Harlan, John M.,	U. S. Supreme Court.
Harries, George H.,	Fourteenth & E. Capitol Sta.
Hart, William O.,	134 Carondelet St., New Orleans, La.
Harvey, Frederick L.,	2146 Florida Ave.
Hearst, Mrs. Phœbe Apperson,	Pleasanton, Cal.
Hemphill, John J.,	2108 Bancroft Place.
Henderson, John B., Jr.,	1601 Florida Avenue.
Henning, George C.,	Wash. Safe Deposit Co.
Heth, Miss Nannie R.,	1906 G St.
Heurich, Christian,	1307 New Hampshire Ave.
Hibbs, William B.,	Hibbs Building.
Hill, William Corcoran,	1724 H St.
Hood, James Franklin,	1017 O St.
Howard, George,	Nat. Savings & Trust Co.
Howard, George H.,	1914 N St.
Hoxie, Mrs. Vinnie Ream,	1632 K St.
Hughes, Percy M.,	318 B St., S. E.
Hunt, Gaillard,	Library of Congress.
HUTCHESON, DAVID,	P. O. Box H, E. Capitol Sta.
Hyde, Thomas,	1537 Twenty-eighth St.
Jackson, Miss Cordelia,	3010 O St.
Jameson, J. Franklin,	Carnegie Institution.
Janin, Mrs. Violet Blair,	12 Lafayette Square.
Jennings, Hennen,	2221 Massachusetts Ave.
Johnson, Jerome Blakeslee,	Homewood Station, Pittsburgh, Pa.
Johnston, James M.,	1628 K St.
Judd, George H.,	420-22 Eleventh St.

KASSON, JOHN ADAM,	1726 I St.
Kauffmann, Rudolph,	Office <i>Evening Star</i> .
Kelly, Henry A.,	P. O. Department.
Kern, Charles E.,	1328 Harvard St.
Kibbey, Miss Bessie J.,	2025 Massachusetts Ave.
Kingsman (M.D.), Richard,	711 East Capitol St.
Knight, Hervey S.,	McGill Building.
Knox-Heath, Mrs. Nelly Lloyd,	147 Highland Ave., Newtonville, Mass.
Kober (M.D.), George M.,	1603 Nineteenth St.
Lambert, Tallmadge A.,	2209 Massachusetts Ave.
Lansburgh, James,	2511 Fourteenth St.
Larcombe, John S.,	1817 H St.
Larner, John Bell,	Wash. Loan and Trust Bldg.
Lenman, Miss Isobel Hunter,	1100 Twelfth St.
Lothrop, Alvin Mason,	Cor. Eleventh and F Sts.
McCarthy, Miss Helena,	915 Fifteenth St.
McGee, W J,	Cosmos Club.
McGill, J. Nota,	Woodley Lane.
McGuire, Frederick Bauders,	1333 Connecticut Ave.
McKee, Frederick,	412 Fifth St.
McKenney, F. D.,	Hibbs Bldg.
Magruder, Caleb Clarke, Jr.,	1018 Fourteenth St.
Magruder (M.D.), G. Lloyd,	1214 18th St.
Magruder, John H.,	1843 S St.
Marshall, James Rush,	2507 Penna Ave.
Matthews, Henry S.,	1410 G St.
Mattingly, William F.,	1616 H St.
May, Frank P.,	634 Pennsylvania Ave.
May, George J.,	634 Pennsylvania Ave.
Mearns, William A.,	1319 F St.
Merritt, William E. H.,	1403 H St.
Mickley, Miss Minnie F.,	The Naples.
Miller, J. Barton,	1621 Thirty-fifth St.
Moore, Mark W.,	518 Fifth St.
Moore, Mrs. Virginia Campbell,	1680 Thirty-first St.
Morgan, Cecil,	Macon, Ga.
Morgan (M.D.), James Dudley,	919 Fifteenth St.

Morgan, Mrs. Jas. Dudley,	919 Fifteenth St.
Morris, Miss Maud Burr,	1603 Nineteenth St.
Mosher, Mrs. James,	2000 S St.
Moss, George W.,	1411 G St.
Neale, Sidney C.,	1306 F St.
Nevitt (M.D.), J. Ramsay,	1820 Calvert St.
Noyes, Theodore Williams,	1730 New Hampshire Ave.
O'Connell, Rt. Rev. D. J.,	1000 Fulton St., San Francisco, Cal.
Owen, Frederick D.,	3 Grant Place.
Oyster, James F.,	1314 Rhode Island Ave.
Parker, E. Southard,	1738 Connecticut Ave.
Parsons, Arthur J.,	1818 N St.
Peacock, Miss Virginia T.,	2466 Ontario Road.
Peelle, Stanton J.,	The Concord.
Pellew, Henry E.,	1637 Massachusetts Ave.
Pelz, Paul J.,	2011 F St.
Pentland, Andrew W.,	1330 Eighteenth St.
Perry, R. Ross,	Fendall Bldg.
Philp, Mrs. Sarah B.,	3248 N St.
Pinchot, Gifford,	1615 Rhode Island Ave.
Porter, Miss Sarah Harvey,	1834 K St.
Prather, Miss Josephine E.,	The Dewey Hotel.
Pratt, Frederick W.,	Coreoran Building.
Preston, Robert Lee,	1327 Eighteenth St.
Ramsay, Francis M., U.S.N.,	1923 N St.
Rheem, Clarence B.,	727 15th St.
Richards, William P.,	District Building.
Richardson (M.D.), Chas. W.,	1317 Connecticut Ave.
Richardson, Mrs. Charles W.,	1317 Connecticut Ave.
Richardson, Francis Asbury,	Hotel Grafton.
Richardson, Mason N.,	Fendall Building.
Riggs, Miss Alice L.,	1617 I St.
Riggs, E. Francis,	1311 Massachusetts Ave.
Rittenhouse, David,	1607 Twenty-eighth St.
Rudolph, Cuno H.,	District Building.
Russell, Rev. William T.,	619 Tenth St.
Saul, John A.,	344 D St.

Shahan (D.D.), Rt. Rev. T. T.,	Catholic Univ. of America.
Shand, Miles M.,	Department of State.
Shandelle (S.J.), Rev. Henry J.,	Georgetown University.
Shoemaker, Louis P.,	612 Fourteenth St.
Shuey, Theodore F.,	U. S. Senate.
Simmons, B. Stanley,	1255 Irving St.
Simpson, Henry K.,	1207 E. Capitol St.
Simpson (M.D.), John Crayke,	1421 Massachusetts Ave.
Sleman, John B., Jr.,	Evans Bldg.
Small, John H., Jr.,	Cor. Fourteenth and G Sts.
Smith, Thomas W.,	2334 Columbia Road.
Snow, Alpheus H.,	2013 Massachusetts Ave.
Sowers (M.D.), Z. T.,	1707 Massachusetts Ave.
Spear, Ellis,	Victor Building.
Spofford, Miss Florence P.,	1621 Massachusetts Ave.
Swormstedt, John S.,	1423 New York Avenue.
Sylvester, Richard,	District Building.
Taggart, Hugh T.,	3249 N St.
Taylor, C. Bryson,	1822 Massachusetts Ave.
Thom, Corcoran,	Amer. Security and Trust Co.
Thompson, W. B.,	1419 F St.
Tindall (M.D.), William,	District Building.
Todd, William B.,	1243 Irving St.
Tree, Lambert,	70 La Salle St., Chicago, Ill.
Truesdell, George,	1627 Lincoln Ave.
Tucker, Charles Cowles,	Evans Building.
Van Wickle, William P.,	1225 Pennsylvania Ave.
Walsh, Charles II.,	2021 H St.
Warner, Brainard Henry,	916 F St.
Weller, Michael I.,	East Wash. Savings Bank.
White, Charles E.,	621 Third St.
White, Enoch L.,	1753 Corcoran St.
White, Robinson,	602 F St.
Whitney (Ph.D.), Edson L.,	1234 Euclid St.
Willard, Henry K.,	Kellogg Building.
Williams, Charles P.,	1675 Thirty-first St.
Wilson, Clarence R.,	Pacific Building.
Wilson, James Ormond,	1439 Massachusetts Ave.

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Wolf, Simon,	2013 Columbia Road.
Wood, Rev. Charles,	2110 S St.
Woodhull, Maxwell V. Z.,	2033 G St.
Woodward, Fred E.,	Eleventh and F Sts.
Woodward, S. Walter,	2015 Wyoming Ave.
Woodward, Thomas P.,	610 Thirteenth St.
Wright, W. Lloyd,	1908 G St.
Wyman (Surg. Gen.), Walter,	Stoneleigh Court.
Zevely, Douglass,	1525 O St.

COMMUNICATIONS MADE TO THE COLUMBIA  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

(Continued from Page 153, Vol. 12.)

1909.

- Feb. 9. Biographical sketch of Gen. James Maccubbin Lingen, an original proprietor. Miss Ella Loraine Dorsey. Published in this volume.  
The Mark of the Scalpel. John Frederick May, M.D., 1887. Read by William Henry Dennis. Published in this volume.
- Mar. 9. Reminiscences of the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War. Albert E. H. Johnson. Published in this volume.
- Apr. 13. The Story of Kalorama. Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster. Published in this volume.
- May 11. The Reinterment of Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant. James Dudley Morgan, M.D. Published in this volume.  
The Public Career of Montgomery Blair, Particularly with Reference to his Services as Postmaster General of the United States. Madison Davis. Published in this volume.
- Nov. 9. The History of the Unitarian Church in the District of Columbia. Mrs. Jennie W. Scudder. Published in this volume.
- Dec. 14. Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West. Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster. To be published in a future volume.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE COLUMBIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

*107th meeting.*

*February 9, 1909.*

President Morgan occupied the chair, but owing to the very inclement weather, only about 40 members and guests listened to Miss Ella Loraine Dorsey read her "Biographical sketch of General James MacCubbin Lingan, an original proprietor."

By request of the Board of Managers, Mr. William Henry Dennis read some extracts from an unpublished paper by the late Dr. John Frederick May entitled "The mark of the Scalpel." Both papers elicited animated discussion participated in by Messrs. Bryan, Clark, Weller, Walsh, Bundy, Mrs. Ballinger and Mrs. Beall.

*108th meeting.*

*March 9, 1909.*

The communication of the evening, "Reminiscences of the Hon. Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War," at the request of its author, Major Albert E. H. Johnson, was read by his grandson, Mr. Guy H. Johnson. The subject was discussed by Col. George C. Ellison, Justice Barnard, and Messrs. Thomas H. McKee, Zevely and Dennis.

About 75 members and guests were present, with President Morgan in the chair.

*109th meeting.*

*April 13, 1909.*

Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster's communication dealt with "The Story of Kalorama." She briefly sketched some of the distinguished people who have lived there and described some of the events that have helped to make it famous. Mr. Weller, Mrs. Beall and Judge Bundy took part in the resulting discussion.

The presiding officer was President Morgan. There were 65 member and guests.

*110th meeting.*

*May 11, 1909.*

President Morgan in the chair. Present about 60 members and guests. President Morgan made a brief report on inci-

dents connected with the L'Enfant obsequies of the preceding month; and exhibited photographs of the lying in state of his remains in the rotunda of the capitol. Mrs. Ballinger and Dr. G. Lloyd Magruder made appropriate remarks.

Hon. Madison Davis read his communication on "The career of Montgomery Blair, particularly with reference to his services as Postmaster General of the United States." Items of interest were added by Vice-President Barnard and ex-President Kasson. Upon motion of Dr. Tindall, seconded by Judge Bundy, they were requested to commit them to writing that the information contained therein might become part of the printed record.

*111th meeting.**November 9, 1909.*

With President Morgan in the chair, 175 members and guests assembled after the summer adjournment. A gavel carved from a root of the red cedar that had marked the grave of Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant since 1825, was presented to the Society by President Morgan and accepted on behalf of the Society by Vice-President Barnard. Mr. Glenn Brown offered some brief remarks appreciative of L'Enfant and exhibited a sketch of the accepted model for his tomb at Arlington.

Mrs. Jennie W. Scudder as historian of the evening gave "The History of the Unitarian Church in the District of Columbia," which was discussed by Judge Bundy.

*112th meeting.**December 14, 1909.*

About 80 members and guests were present, with President Morgan in the chair.

The Secretary read a series of resolutions passed by the Board and sent to the President of the United States, setting forth the desire of the Society that the question of the constitutionality of the retrocession to Virginia, of that portion of the Ten Miles Square lying south of the Potomac, should be settled once and for all time. Also a resolution of the Board to have the L'Enfant gavel capped with silver and appropriately inscribed.

The communication of the evening was by Mrs. Corra Bacon-Foster on "Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West," Judge Bundy moved a vote of thanks.

President Morgan exhibited a letter from Dr. Upton Scott to Dr. Henry Maynadier, 20 November, 1782; L'Enfant's certificate of membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, signed by General Washington; and a list signed by Robert Pember-ton showing the proportion of medals to be distributed among the thirteen original States.

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1909.

General balance shown by report for 1908.....	\$ 232.65
Life membership fund and interest.....	108.73
Received for dues, 1909.....	915.00
Sales of annual volumes.....	29.75
Sales of Spofford memorial.....	6.00
	\$1,292.13

### CONTRA.

Life membership fund and interest.....	\$ 108.73
Expenses, 1909, viz:	
Publishing annual volume.....	\$510.36
Room for meetings at The Shoreham.....	150.00
Printing notices, etc.....	25.90
Postage .....	51.71
Recording Secretary, December, 1908, to	
December, 1909, both inclusive.....	200.00
100 copies Spofford memorial.....	25.00
Insurance on archives.....	4.90
Envelopes and paper.....	13.20
Photographs .....	4.00
Clerk hire for treasurer .....	5.00
Balance on hand .....	193.33
	\$1,292.13

WILLIAM HENRY DENNIS,  
*Treasurer.*

Audited and found correct,  
George E. Hamilton,  
William B. Hibbs,  
John T. Devine.

*March 15, 1910.*

## SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE RECORDING SECRETARY FOR 1909.

*To the President and Members of the Columbia Historical Society, Greeting:*

The Recording Secretary submits the *Sixteenth Annual Report*, beginning with the 106th meeting, January 12, 1909, and ending with the 112th meeting, December 14, of the same year.

During the year the Society has admitted 37 new members, lost 9 by death, 5 by resignation and 4 through other causes, giving us 234 members on our roll.

The Board of Managers has held 8 meetings with an average attendance of 9 members. The Society has held 7 meetings in the Banquet Hall of The Shoreham, with an average attendance of about 85 members and guests.

Volume 12 of *The Records*, issued in 1909, contains 196 pages and 7 illustrations, one of the latter being a reproduction of the portrait, by Charles Willson Peale, of Francis Scott Key at the age of seventeen; and another, a characteristic portrait of the late Ainsworth Rand Spofford, LL.D., Vice-President of this Society from its organization to the time of his death.

An occurrence of national interest which the Society and its President were largely instrumental in bringing to pass, was the removal from "Green Hill," Prince George County, Maryland, of the remains of Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant, their lying in state in the Rotunda of the United States Capitol and their re-interment in Arlington National Cemetery with appropriate military honors. As a memento of that event, the Society now owns a gavel, the gift of its President, carved from a piece of the red cedar that marked the site of L'Enfant's grave at "Green Hill." To testify their appreciation, the Society has had a silver plate, suitably engraved, affixed to this unique gavel.

In closing, the Secretary takes great pleasure in mentioning that the project of having a room of our own in which our books, manuscripts, maps, etc., can be accessible to our members and other students of history, is at last taking definite shape and is being vigorously acted upon by the Committee on Building whose duty it is to secure suitable accommodations for the Society and its belongings.

Respectfully submitted,

MARY STEVENS BEALL,  
*Recording Secretary.*

January 11, 1910.

## SIXTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE CURATOR.

*To the President and Members of the Columbia Historical Society:*

I hand you herewith my sixteenth annual report as Curator of the Society.

Nothing has been purchased for the library during the year. The following have been acquired by gift or exchange: .  
HISTORY OF MEXICO, Vols. I, II. Wm. H. Prescott. 1850.  
CONQUEST OF MEXICO, Vol. I. Wm. H. Prescott.  
HISTORY OF PHILIP II. Wm. H. Prescott.  
HISTORY OF POLAND. James Fletcher. 1831.  
HISTORY OF EUROPE. Archibald Alison. 1843.  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Vols. I, II, III, IV. Thomas B. Macauley.

ANCIENT HISTORY, Vols. I-VIII. Charles Rollins.  
NINEVEH AND ITS REMAINS. Henry Layard.  
HISTORY OF GERMANY. Frederick Kohlvausch. 1853.  
HISTORY OF ENGLAND. Vol. I. Joshua Smith.  
LIFE OF NAPOLEON BONAPARTE. J. G. Lockhart. 1851.  
NAPOLEON AND HIS MARSHALS. Vols. I, II. Joel Tyler Headley.  
LIFE OF CHARLES II. Jacob Abbott. 1902.  
LIFE OF THOMAS STERLING. Thomas Carlyle. 1852.  
AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GOETHE PARKE GOODWIN. 1846.  
RECOLLECTIONS OF ASAHEL NETTLETON. Rev. R. Smith. 1848.  
OLD PORTRAITS AND MODERN SKETCHES. J. G. Whittier. 1850.  
PAST AND PRESENT. Thomas Carlyle. 1894.  
SPEECHES, LECTURES AND LETTERS. Wendell Phillips.  
HISTOIRE DE GENEVE. 1833.  
THE HEROIC IN HISTORY. Thomas Carlyle. 1846.  
TRAVELS IN AFRICA. Mungo Park. 1840.  
THE LIFE OF CHRIST. Augustus Neander. 1851.  
CHRISTOLOGY OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. E. W. Hengstenburg. Translated from the German by Reuel Keith, D.D. Vols. I, II, III. 1836.

- POETICAL WORKS OF MARY HOWITT AND ELIZA COOK. 1856.  
POETICAL WORKS OF HENRY ALFORD. 1853.  
POEMS OF THE ORIENT. Bayard Taylor. 1855.  
PLEASURES OF HOPE. Thomas Campbell. 1851.  
POETICAL WORKS OF THOMAS MOORE.  
THE GOLDEN LEGEND. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.  
1852.  
POETICAL WORKS OF MRS. FELICIA D. HEMANS. Vols. IV,  
VI, VII.  
SOLITARY HOURS. (Poem.) Caroline Southey. 1846.  
POETICAL WORKS OF ROBERT BURNS. Illustrated. 1850.  
BRACEBRIDGE HALL. Washington Irving. London. 1850.  
RAB AND HIS FRIENDS. Dr. John Brown.  
All the above were the gift to the Society of Miss Frances Adams from the library of her late father, Dr. J. O. Adams.  
LITHOGRAPHIC COPY OF THE RESOLUTIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF HARFORD COUNTY, MARYLAND, March, 22, 1775. The gift to the Society of the late Mrs. Virginia Churchman Walworth.  
THE LICENSE TAX SYSTEM IN LOUISIANA. Hon. W. O. Hart.  
1909. (2 copies.) Also newspaper clippings, illustrated guides to Vicksburg, Chickamauga and New Orleans, menus of historic banquets, Mardi-Gras programmes, etc. Presented by Hon. Wm. O. Hart.  
A BRIEF TECHNICAL TALK. Paul Berretta. Presented by Williams and Wilkins Company, Baltimore, Md.  
A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE METROPOLITAN CLUB OF THE CITY OF WASHINGTON, with a sketch of the two Clubs of similar title which preceded it, covering a period of nearly a half-century. John A. Baker. 1909. Presented by the author.  
THE FOUNDERS AND ORIGINAL ORGANIZERS OF THE METROPOLITAN CLUB, WASHINGTON, D. C., with a correct History of the Club from December, 1872, when it was founded, to this date. A protest against error. Francis Preston Blair Sands. 1909. Presented by the author. (2 copies.)  
BULLETIN OF THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS, for April, May and July, 1909.  
BOLIVIA, A NEGLECTED FIELD OF GREAT OPPORTUNITIES. Ignacio Calderon. Reprint from Banker's Magazine of July, 1907.

BOLIVIA, address delivered under the auspices of National Geographic Society. Ignacio Calderon. 1907.

COLOMBIA, A LAND OF GREAT POSSIBILITIES. John Barrett. 1906.

SCIENTIFIC POSSIBILITIES IN BRAZIL. Joaquin Nabuco. 1907.

THE RESTORATION OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT IN CUBA. *Ibid.* 1909.

LINCOLN'S CENTENARY. *Ibid.* 1909.

SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS; *also* The United States and Latin America; *also* La Oficina Internacional delas Repúblicas Americanas; *also* List of Publications published or distributed by the Bureau; *also* Extract from Address of Director Barrett before Trans-Mississippi Commercial Congress, 1908; *also* 19 photographs of Pan-American scenes. All the above Pan-American documents, the gift to the Society of Major J. O. Kerbey.

EUROPEAN SOBRIETY IN THE PRESENCE OF THE BALKAN CRISIS. Charles Austin Beard, Ph.D. 1908. Presented by the Amer. Branch of Asso. for International Conciliation.

OCCASIONAL BULLETIN, Iowa Masonic Library. Vol. XI, No. 1, November, 1909. Presented by the Library.

ANNUAL MAGAZINE SUBJECT-INDEX FOR 1908. F. W. Faxon, A.B. Boston, 1909. Presented by the compiler.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY, BULLETINS OF. Issued in 1909. 9 Nos. In exchange with the Library.

WISCONSIN STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, COLLECTIONS OF, Vol. XVIII, 1908. *Also* Proceedings of, 1908. *Also* Collections of, Vols. VI, VII, 1908, Vol. VIII, 1879 (reprint, 1909). In exchange with the Society.

WISCONSIN HISTORY COMMISSION. The Battle of Gettysburg, by Frank Aretas Haskell, 1908. Reprints No. 1. *Also* The Vicksburg Campaign, by William Freeman Vilas, 1908. Original Papers, No. 1. *Also* Capture and Escape, by John Azor Kellogg, 1908. Original Papers, No. 2. Presented by the Commission.

CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Publications of, 1908, 1909. In exchange with the Society.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS. Triennial Graduate List, 1909. *Also* General Catalogue, 1908-1909. *Also* General Catalogue 1909-1910. In exchange with the Riggs Library.

AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PUBLICATIONS OF Nos. 17 and 18. In exchange with the Society.

NEW YORK STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, Albany Co. Sessions, 1778-1781. Vols. I and II. In exchange with the Society.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION AND NATIONAL MUSEUM, EXHIBITS OF, at Jamestown Tercentennial Exposition, 1907. *Also* Exhibits of, at Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 1909. *Also* Antikvarisk Tidakrift for Sverige, 1909. *Also* Archivio Storico per La Sicilia Orientale; Periodico Quadrimestrale; Anno III—Fascicolo II. 1906. In exchange with the Institution.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. List of Publications issued since 1897. March, 1909. In exchange with the Library.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, ANNUAL REPORT OF Vol. II, 1905, A. P. C. Griffin. In exchange with the Library of Congress.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON THE WORK OF STATE AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES, 1909. Reported by Evarts B. Greene. In exchange with the Library of Congress.

PHILIPPINE ISLANDS, LIST OF BOOKS ON, A. P. C. Griffin. 1903. In exchange with the Library of Congress.

MAPS RELATING TO AMERICA, THE KOHL COLLECTION, by Justin Winsor; Index by P. Lee Phillips. 1904. In exchange with the Library of Congress.

I have also received during the year and turned over to the Treasurer the sum of \$47 which came into my hands from time to time from the sale of sundry of our publications,

All of which is respectfully submitted

JAMES F. HOOD,  
*Curator.*

## REPORT OF THE CHRONICLER.

### PRINCIPAL LOCAL EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1909.

- The Chronicler submitted the following report:  
1909.
- Jan. 6. District subscription to the Red Cross relief fund for Italian earthquake sufferers reaches \$10,000.  
" 14. Dedication of the Lisner Memorial wing of the Georgetown Hospital.  
" 25. Consecration of the second Bishop of Washington, Rev. Alfred Harding, D.D., in Trinity Episcopal Church.
- Feb. 22. Memorial tablet to the Soldiers of 1812 unveiled in the Octagon House by the "Society of the Daughters of 1812"; Mrs. Kate Kearney Henry, Regent.
- Mar. 4. William Howard Taft inaugurated President of the United States. A violent storm of snow and hail prevailed during the ceremonies.  
" 19. Miss Elizabeth Du Fief, aged 95 years, a native of Washington, was buried from her home, 1030 Twelfth Street.
- Apr. 28. Re-interment of Major Pierre Charles L'Enfant at Arlington National Cemetery.
- May 2. The Walter Reed United States General Hospital opened.  
" 3. Statue of Ex-Governor Alexander R. Shepherd unveiled.  
" 7. Statue of the poet Longfellow unveiled.  
" 8. President Taft attends banquet given by Washington Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce, opposes suffrage and representation in Congress for the District of Columbia.  
" 20. Statue of the Rev. John Witherspoon, signer of the Declaration of Independence, unveiled.

- June 19. Portrait of James Croggon, one of the five founders of the Order of the Sons of Jonadab, presented to Pioneer Council No. 1.
- " 20. The Crosby Stuart Noyes Memorial window dedicated at the National Training School for Boys.
- July 3. The Grand Army of the Republic dedicated a monument to the memory of Major Benjamin Franklin Stephenson, the founder of the Society.
- " 4. A "Safe and Sane" observance of the day, with not a death recorded from accident.
- " 28. Bridge connecting the drives on the eastern and western sides of the tidal basin opened to the public.
- Aug. 5. New steel and concrete bridge spanning the Anacostia branch opened to traffic.
- Sept. 5. Demolition begun of the old Anacostia bridge, built thirty-three years ago.
- " 15. New Southern Railway Station opened at 7th Street and Maryland Avenue.
- " 18. Site selected for the John Dickson Home for Aged Men.
- Oct. 16. The old Cameron house, No. 21 Lafayette square, opened as the Commercial Club of Washington.
- " 18. Death of Mrs. Sara Spencer, prominent business educator.
- " 31. The 140th anniversary celebration of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Georgetown, D. C.
- Nov. 11. Henry L. West resigns as Commissioner of the District.
- " 13. First session of the Laymen's Missionary Convention.
- " 13. Henry B. F. Macfarland resigns as Commissioner of the District.
- " 15. St. Aloysius Roman Catholic Church celebrates its 50th anniversary.
- Dec. 4. Congress Street M. P. Church of Georgetown, observes its 81st anniversary.

- Dec. 4. Memorial meeting for Professor Simon Newcomb  
held by Washington Academy of Sciences.  
" 13. New building for the Carnegie Institution, 16th  
and P Streets, dedicated.  
" 30. Set of law books presented by his fellow citizens to  
Ex-Commissioner Henry B. F. Macfarland, and  
a silver service to Ex-Commissioner West upon  
their retirement.
- 

NECROLOGY.

1909, March 25th .....	ROBERT REYBURN.
1909, April 14th .....	CHARLES MATHER FFOULKE.
1909, June 30th .....	JAMES ROBBINS.
1909, July 11th .....	SIMON NEWCOMB.
1909, September 8th .....	ANDREW B. GRAHAM.
1909, September 12th .....	MARTIN F. MORRIS.
1909, October 1st .....	W. MOSBY WILLIAMS.
1909, December 4th .....	HENRY A. WILLARD.
1909, December 28th .....	JAMES G. PAYNE.

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